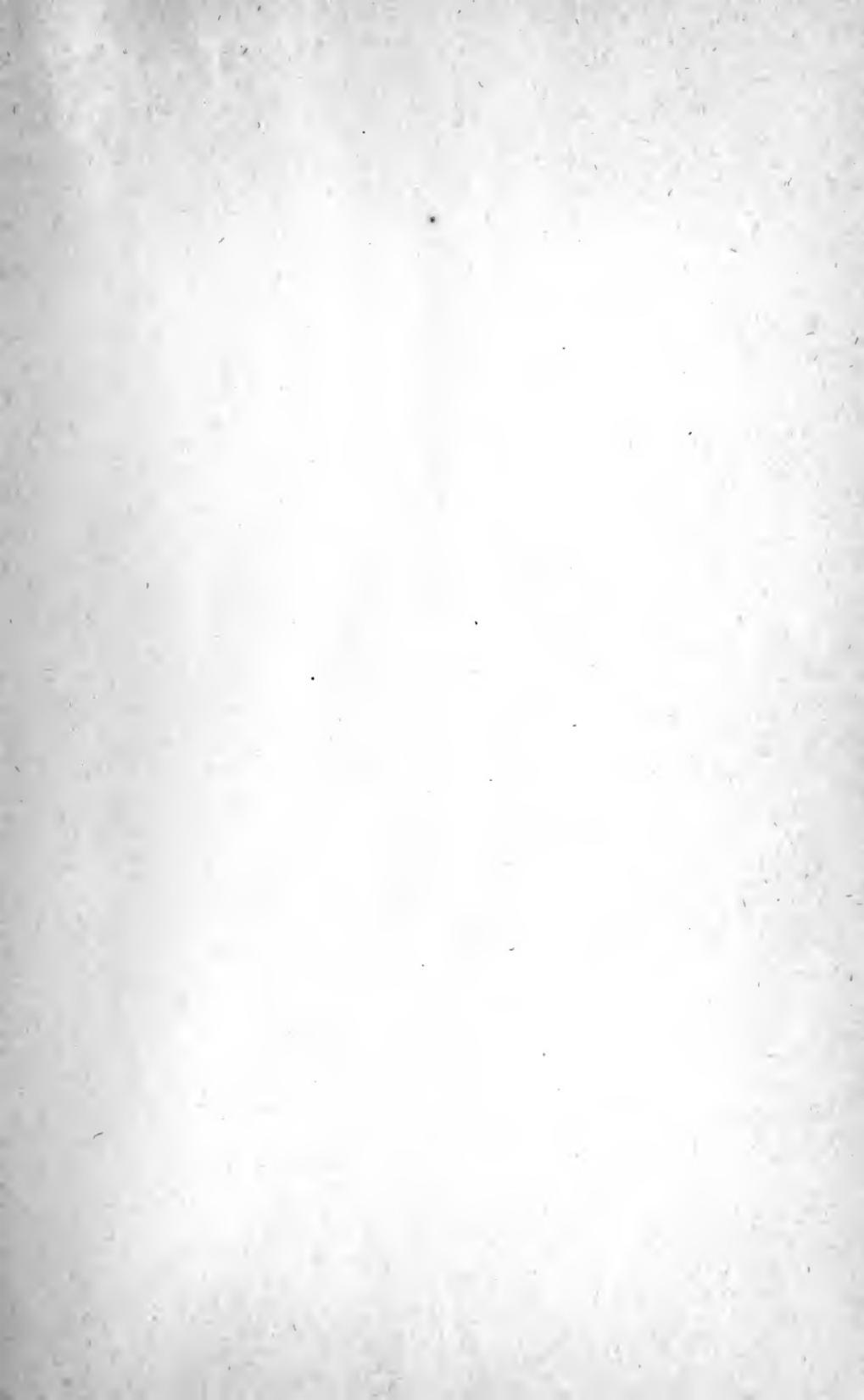


FIFTEEN YEARS
IN THE
CHURCH OF ROME.









FIFTEEN YEARS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME

*L. E. Avery's Book
Brandon U.*

AN EXAMINATION OF

Priests, Popes, and Councils

BY
REV. S. F. CALHOUN

"MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PREVALEBIT."

"UBI FIDES VERA EST
IBI ECCLESIA EST."
—*Jerome.*

LOWELL, MASS.:

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DEDICATION.

 O HENRY NORWELL, Esq.—It is with great satisfaction that I mention your name the first among the many to whom I dedicate this book. I owe this to you as a token of gratitude for the help and kindness which more than once I received at your hands, years ago when a stranger in the city of Boston. And the respect and esteem I entertain for you will plead my apology for venturing to dedicate to you this earnest, honest, and it is hoped not unsuccessful, attempt to vindicate the true Church from all alliance or identity with the Roman system.

To the FREEMASONS, INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS, and KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS, of the United States of America, I dedicate this book, also.

In compliance with the Encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII, the Pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Toulouse, published in the *Semaine Catholique*, and intended for his entire diocese, contains the following extracts:—

1. “The necessity to combat Freemasonry is the principal work for all Catholics.
2. “The rapid and continually-increasing progress of the evil is a daily source of cruel anxiety to all well-thinking people.
3. “The time for barren recriminations and useless complaints has passed by; that for action has arrived.

4. "His Holiness, the Sovereign Pontiff, has denounced the source of evil, indicated the enemy, and it is a duty for all Catholics to rush forward to the destruction of Masonry, to unmask their hypocrisy, to make known their ravages, to unveil their accomplices, to enlighten their dupes; at a word, to prepare themselves against Freemasonry for a struggle to the knife."

I know that Freemasonry alone, among all the grand associations of men, has assumed the noble and generous task of holding up, over a long series of unfortunate and bloody centuries, the torch of toleration and of true brotherhood; that Odd Fellowship stands for liberty, equality, and fraternity; that Knights of Pythias have no fellowship with the ignorance, prejudice, superstition, jesuitism, and clericalism of the Roman system. And we invite all good men to assist us and testify that we have never hurled anathemas against any one, and that our kindly fraternities are certainly nearer to God than their inhuman and ridiculous papal infallibility.

There is an intrinsic value and a divine excellence in the principle of secrecy: "*Est et fideli tuta silentio merces,*" — "For faithful silence, also, there is a sure reward."

LODGE CERTIFICATE.

GREETING:—We, the Master and Wardens of Independence Lodge, No. 10, Free and Accepted Masons, constituted under a Charter from the M. W. Grand Lodge of the State of Vermont, Do Certify, that our Worthy Brother, Rev. S. F. Calhoun, has been regularly initiated as an Entered Apprentice, passed to the Degree of Fell Craft, and raised to the Sublime Degree of Master Mason, and is distinguished for his zeal and fidelity to the Craft. We do therefore recommend that he be received and acknowledged as such by all true and accepted Freemasons, wherever dispersed.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have granted him this Certificate under our hands and the seal of the Lodge, having first

Ne Varietur. caused our Worthy Brother to sign his name on the margin, this first day of March, A. D. 1886, A. L. 5886.

[SEAL] "G. A. KIMBALL, *Worshipful Master.*
 "R. A. PARKS, *Senior Warden.*
 "GEORGE THOMAS, *Junior Warden.*
 "D. S. WELLS, *Secretary."*

"*This is to Certify,* That Independence Lodge, No. 10, is a legally-constituted Lodge, working under the jurisdiction of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Vermont. April 22, A. L. 5886.

"SAMUEL M. READ, *Grand Secretary.*"

CHAPTER CERTIFICATE.

Ne Varietur: S. F. CALHOUN. "GREETING:—We, the Presiding Officers of Farmers Chapter, No. 9, Royal Arch Masons, constituted under a Warrant from the Grand Chapter of the State of Vermont, Do hereby Certify, that our Worthy Companion, Rev. S. F. Calhoun, has been regularly Exalted to the Sublime Degree of Royal Arch, and do therefore commend him to the kindness and protection of all Royal Arch Masons, wherever dispersed.

"IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have granted this Certificate under our hands and the seal of the Chapter, having first caused our Worthy Companion to sign his name on the margin, this twenty-second day of March, A. D. 1886.

[SEAL] "Attest: F. N. MANCHESTER, *High Priest.*
 "GEORGE A. CROSSMAN, *King.*
 "EBEN J. BLISS, *Scribe.*
 "R. F. KIDDER, *Secretary."*

"*This is to Certify,* That Farmers Chapter, No. 9, at Brandon, is a legally-constituted Chapter, under the jurisdiction of the Most Excellent Grand Chapter of Vermont. A. L. 5886, A. I. 2416, A. D. 1886.

"EXCELLENT WILLIAM H. S. WHITCOMB,
 "*Grand Secretary.*"

COMMANDERY CERTIFICATE.

"GREETING:—To all Knights Templar throughout the Globe.
We, the Eminent Commander, Generalissimo, and Captain General of the Commandery of Knights Templar and the Appendant Orders, holden in Middlebury, State of Vermont, U. S. A., hereby certify that our trusty and well-beloved Companion Sir Knight, Rev. S. F. Calhoun, has been regularly created and dubbed a Knight of the Red Cross, Knight Templar, and Knight of Malta of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and as such we cordially recommend him to the favor and protection of all true and courteous Knights of our Order, wherever dispersed.

W e Varietur: S. F. CALHOUN.

"Given under our hands and the seal of Mount Calvary Commandery, at Middlebury, this twenty-second day of March, 1886. We have also caused our Companion Sir Knight to sign his name in the margin.

"W. C. BRADBURY, Eminent Commander.

[SEAL]

"G. A. KIMBALL, Generalissimo.

"F. N. MANCHESTER, Captain General.

"Attest: PETER F. GOODRICH, Recorder."

"Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of Vermont: Thad. M. Chapman, R. E. Commander. Be it known, that Mount Calvary Commandery, No. 1, situated in Middlebury, is of regular standing under our jurisdiction. Burlington, April 6, A. D. 1886.

"Attest: W. C. BRADBURY, Recorder.

LODGE CERTIFICATE.

"THIS IS TO CERTIFY, That Brother Rev. S. F. Calhoun was admitted by card a member of Lowell Lodge, No. 95, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Lowell, Mass., on the tenth day of April, 1874. Attest:

"JAMES F. MCKISOCK, Noble Grand.

[SEAL]

"GEO. H. RICHARDSON, Recording Secretary."

ENCAMPMENT CERTIFICATE.

"THIS IS TO CERTIFY, That Brother S. F. Calhoun was made a member of Otter Creek Encampment, No. 7, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, May 13, 1886, that he has attained the Third Degree, and is at present a member in good standing of the above Encampment. Rutland, Vt., July 6, 1886.

"FRANK M. MELLOR, *Chief Priest.*

[SEAL]

"THEO. J. MOORE, *Scribe.*"

To the REV. JAMES B. DUNN, D. D., and the CLERGY OF THE GREAT PROTESTANT CHURCH IN AMERICA, I also dedicate this book.

You have in your hands the moral power to form public opinion respecting what is being done by the Roman system in this country. Priest Hecker, chief of the Paulist Fathers of New York city, declares "that there is to be ere long a State religion, in this country, and that religion is to be Roman Catholic." Bishop O'Connor has said, "Religious liberty is merely endured till the opposite can be carried into effect without peril to the Catholic world." Pope Pius IX anathematized "those who assert liberty of conscience and religious worship, and also all such as maintain that the Church may not employ force." And yet the Protestant clergy sleep, and the Protestant Church has ceased to protest. In the Vermont *Chronicle* of April 23, 1886, the following article and editorial comments appeared:—

"ARE PROTESTANTS HERETICS?

"BY REV. S. F. CALHOUN.

"I have just read, in the *Chronicle* of April 2d, an article on 'Insufficient Information,' in which Archbishop Carrigan, of New York, is represented as saying to Rev. John Miller, of Princeton, N. J., that 'outside the Church there is no salvation' applied to Catholics and not to Protestants. If the Archbishop uttered this sentiment, what did he mean when he took the oath that every

Archbishop in the Roman Catholic Church takes when he receives the pallium, and which will be found in the *Pontificale Romanum?* One clause of the oath is as follows:—

“‘Heretics [that is, Protestants], Schismatics [that is, members of the Greek Church that separated, as they say, from Rome], and Rebels against our Lord or aforesaid successors, I will persecute and attack to the utmost of my power.’

“What said Baronius, whom Archbishop Carrigan accepts as a Roman Catholic historian? —

“‘This all assent to, so that no one dissents who does not by such disagreement cut himself off from the Church.’ — *Bar. anno 1053, S. 14, Vol. XI, Rome, 1605.*

“Then Pope Bonifice VIII has a decree in the Canon Law:—

“‘Moreover, we declare, assert, define, and pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.’ — *Extrav. Comm., lib. 1, tit. 8, p. 160. Pars 2. Lips. 1839.*

“Five successive Popes,— Innocent III, Honorius III, Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and Alexander IV,— decreed the extermination of heretics:—

“‘But because Luther escaped with impunity, Ecolampadius, Zwingle, Carlstadt, and the Anabaptists,—the worst of all heretics,—dared to go abroad in public and vent their heresies.’ — *Cap. XII, p. 126.*

“Pope Gregory IX inserted in his Decretals the satorious decree of the Fourth Lateran Council:—

“‘We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy exalting itself against that holy, orthodox, and Catholic faith which we have above set forth, condemning all heretics, by whatever names they may be denominated, having indeed different faces, but tails tied together, because they all agree in the same folly.’

“Perhaps the Archbishop believed he was conforming to the Canon Law, on the principle set forth by Pope Gregory IX, by answering the Rev. John Miller as he did:—

“‘An oath contrary to the utility of the Church is not to be observed.’ — *Decret. Greg. IX, lib. 2, etc.*

“‘Not only it is lawful, but it is often more conducive to the glory of God and the utility of your neighbor, to cover the faith than to confess it.’

“The Archbishop’s answer, then, is in direct opposition to his own oath and the teachings of Popes and Roman Catholic historians. I have no pretensions to greater acumen, or to a juster appreciation of the Roman Church, than the editor of the *Chronicle* or my brethren in the ministry, but having long and laboriously studied this subject, it seems to me that the Archbishop’s reply is

not to be trusted. I have just completed a manuscript, entitled "Fifteen Years in the Church of Rome—An Examination of Priests, Popes, and Councils," and some time during the present month it will be in the hands of the publisher, which covers this entire question. The incident of boyhood to which the editor refers has in it more of humanity than zeal for the Roman Church, and then this whole matter is not one of persons, but of principles. That was no time to consult the Church, the mass, purgatory, and the Virgin Mary, but to act, as the excellent editor says, in neighborly kindness."

"COMMENTS BY THE EDITOR.

"It is doubtless true that the view presented by the writer of the above article, so far as the recorded declarations of the Roman Catholic Church for generations past are concerned, is correct. She has said many harsh things against 'heretics and schismatics,' and by her anathemas shut the doors of heaven against them. But the world moves. Human opinions change. Mediæval expressions of thought and formulated systems of the past are too strait to contain the broadening views that have come from the continuous study of God's Word. The Roman Catholic Church, iron-bound as it has been, feels the expanding and softening influences of Christian light and love. It is slowly changing. It will never send forth such fearful anathemas as it has in the past. Though it has not publicly repudiated its past bigotry, the change going on in its body can be seen in many of its utterances. The unqualified statements of Archbishop Carrigan in answer to Mr. Miller's inquiries show the drift of opinion in many of the more enlightened of the Catholic clergy. Much as we lament what seems to us the bigotry and unscripturalness of the Roman Catholic system, we rejoice to notice any indications of a change for the better within its fold."

I can only say that the good, kind, and large-hearted editor of the Vermont *Chronicle* is very much mistaken. "Rome is tolerant only where she is helpless." It is the same system now in this Nineteenth century that it was in the Sixteenth. Its spirit is the same; its doctrines are the same; its methods are the same as when Huss, Zwingle, Luther, Calvin, and Knox fought it with right-

eous and fearless courage. We should remember the words of the great English statesman, Gladstone: "Rome requires a convert who joins her to forfeit his moral and mental freedom, and place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another." Also of Lafayette: "If ever the liberty of the American Republic is destroyed, it will be the work of Roman Catholic priests." American Romanism to-day is the same as Spanish Romanism or Italian Romanism was in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries. The society of Jesuits as it exists now in the United States is the same, in its aims and methods, that it was in the Fourteenth century. It is the same old-timed organization working through its disguised emissaries, agents, and conspirators, by intrigue, bribery, hypocrisy, and crime, into every department of American society. A. J. Grover says, "It would not be more incredible than many of the Jesuit assassinations in Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries, which so startled the nations then, to suppose that the Protestant President Garfield owes his death, indirectly, to the Jesuits." Father Chiniquy, in his "Fifty Years in the Church of Rome," pages 668-735, gives pretty strong evidence that Abraham Lincoln was killed by a Romanist; by a Jesuit and a conspiracy of Jesuits, and is fully believed by those who have been best informed of the facts concerning the methods of the Jesuits of the Roman hierarchy. Mrs. Surratt was also a slave of Roman priests. D. Harold was a Romanist, probably a Jesuit; and he no doubt fled to Europe and found friends, cover, and employment among the members of that order. Every minister of the Gospel should try to inspire public opinion, not with bigotry, or prejudice, or revenge, but with faithful, Protestant principles, and then we need have no doubt of the ultimate issue.

PREFACE.

HE nature of the opposition that the Roman Clergy make to Biblical Christianity proves its truth in the main,—proves the consciousness of a real claim of God in it. No doubt they have attacked Paganism as false. They have resisted Mohammedanism with great zeal. But the constant and determined opposition of the Roman Priesthood, the close and sifting examination the Bible has gone through for ages, the anxious research for errors or contradictions within, prove unmistakably the animus of the Roman Church. Those not immediately under the influence of Mohammedanism are satisfied that it is false, and leave it there; but this intense opposition to the Bible continues, is repeated and renewed. History is called in to aid. Antiquity, style, manuscripts of all kinds, contradictory traditions of the Fathers, absurd writings of so-called heretics,—nothing is left undone to find something to discredit it.

It is doubtless true that of recent years there has been an apparent increase of Roman power and influence in America. It is also true that in the United States the membership of the Roman Church has of late years largely increased. Nor can it be doubted that the Roman Clergy are making almost superhuman efforts to regain in the New World what they have lost in the Old. And yet, it

is no less true that, taking a wide and comprehensive view over the entire world, the influence of the Roman Church is steadily and surely diminishing; and that the power of Leo XIII, of the present day, compared with that of Leo X or Gregory VII (Hildebrand), of the Middle Ages, is but a pigmy compared with a giant. Then the Pope could hurl the mightiest monarchs from their thrones; now he is not able to retain his own, nor to keep under that spirit of liberty which has burst forth and driven him from his tottering throne, and delivered many oppressed and priest-ridden subjects from his unwelcome and superstitious rule.

Fifteen years' experience in the Roman Church has given me remarkable opportunities to pursue a calm and comprehensive study of its ecclesiastical history. I have sketched here the historical state of the Roman Clergy, the lives of the Popes their leaders, and the contradictions of their Ecumenical Councils. I know pretty well, in theory and practice, what Romanism is; and the history of the Popes is open to every one; but those who know what the Roman Church has once been, are best able to appreciate what she now is. The Inquisition, the St. Bartholomew and the Waldensean massacres are a matter of history. "The end justifies the means" is still the spirit of Romanism in Spain, Mexico, and Ireland. The Irish people suffer vastly more from Roman despotism than from English landlordism. And while I have the deepest sympathy for the Irish in their present struggle against English oppression, I can not help feeling that the agitation is more for Rome rule than Home rule. But Romanism is dangerous in America as well as in Europe. It opposes the public schools, controls elections, appropriates vast sums of money from the public treasuries, and owns

property aggregating about two billions of dollars (\$2,000,000,000). The peculiar dogma of allegiance to the temporal power of the Pope is hostile to the principles of the Republic. Cardinal McCloskey confessed "that the Roman Catholics of the United States are as strongly devoted to the sustenance and maintenance of the temporal power of the Holy Father as Catholics in any part of the world; and if it should be necessary to prove it by acts, they are ready to do so."

Although there may be an apparent sincerity and purity and patriotism on the part of many Roman Catholic priests, yet neither they nor their utterances have any power to modify the system of which they form a part. The indifference, listlessness, and drowsiness of American citizens incapacitates them from realizing the antagonisms of Romanism and Republicanism, and to successfully combat the threatening attitude of Romanist authorities that might at some future time flame forth into civil war, conspiracy, or revolution. The victory of Romanism involves the defeat of Liberty, and there is no compromise between the one and the other. There is no harmony between them, and the only safeguard is "Eternal Vigilance." The following oath, which is taken by every Roman Catholic bishop, should open the eyes of all Americans. I will give it in Latin and English:—

"Ego, N., Electus Ecclesiæ N.,
ab hac hora autea fidelis et obe-
diens ero B. Petro Apostolo,
Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ,
et Domino nostro, Domino N.
Papæ N. suisque successoribus
canonice intrantibus.

"Non ero in consilio, aut con-
sensu, vel facto, ut vitam per-

"I, N., Elect of the Church of
N., from henceforward will be faith-
ful and obedient to St. Peter the
Apostle, and to the Holy Roman
Church, and to our Lord, the Lord
N., Pope N., and to his successors
canonically coming in.

"I will neither advise, consent,
nor do anything that may lose life or

dant, aut membrum ; seu capiantur mala captione ; aut in eos manus quo modo libet ingerantur ; vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur ; quovis quæsito colore.

“ Consilium vero quod mihi creditare sunt, per se, aut Nuncios suos, seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente nemini pandam.

“ Papatum Romanum et Regula Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad defendendum et retuendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ Sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo.

“ Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini nostri Papæ et successorum prædictorum conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo.

“ Neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum Dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanum Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel præjudicio alia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis, eorum machinen-
tur. Et si talia a quibus cunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediāt hoc pro posse, et quanto citius potero significabo eidem Domino nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire.

“ Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, seu dispositiones, reservationes, provi-

member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretense whatsoever.

“ The counsel which they shall entrust me withal, by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any, to their prejudice.

“ I will help them to defend and keep the Roman Papacy, and the Royalties of St. Peter, saving my order, against all men. The legate of the Apostolic See, going and coming, I will honorably treat and help in his necessities.

“ The rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his aforesaid successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase, and advance.

“ I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty in which shall be plotted against our said Lord, and the said Roman Church, anything to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honor, state, or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can well signify it to our said Lord, or to some other by whom it may come to his knowledge.

“ The rules of the Holy Fathers, the Apostolic decrees, ordinances or disposals, reservations, provi-

siones, et mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari.

“ Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et Rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo.

“ Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione.

“ Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo, et Dœmino nostro ac successoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo pastorali officio ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ Ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri, et populi disciplinam, anniarum denique quæ meæ fides traditæ sunt, salutem quovis modo pertinentibus, et vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter recipiam et quam diligentissime exequor.

“ Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero præfata omnia ad implebo per certum. Nuntium ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei capituli; aut alium in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias personatum habentem; aut his mihi deficientibus per diœcessanum sacerdotem; et clero deficiente omnino per aliquem alium Presbyterum sæcularum vel regularem spectatæ probitatis et religionis de super dictis omnibus plene instructum.

“ De hujusmodo autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes ad Sanctæ Romanæ Ec-

sions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others.

“ Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said Lord, or his aforesaid successors, I will to my utmost power persecute and wage war with.

“ I will come to a Council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment.

“ I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years; and give an account to our Lord and his aforesaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my Church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the Apostolic commands.

“ And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity or else having a personage; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in default of one of the clergy (of the diocese), by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned.

“ And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the aforesaid mes-

clesiæ Cardinalem Proponentem in Congregatione Sacri Concilii per supra dictum Nuntium transmittendas.

“Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo neque impignorabo, nec de novo infendabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu Capituli Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifico.

“Et si ad aliquam alienationem devenero, pœnas in quadam super hoc edita constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere volo.

“Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia,”

senger to the Cardinal proponent of the Holy Roman Catholic Church in the Congregation of the Sacred Council.

“The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor anywise alienate, no not even with the consent of the chapter of my church, without consulting the Roman Pontiff.

“And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter.

“So help me God and these Holy Gospels of God.”

— “*Pontificale Romanum*,” pp. 59–61.

This oath itself proves the wickedness of the Roman system. It repudiates all temporal power, except that of the Pope, and claims the power to “persecute heretics.” It takes from Romanists moral responsibility, and makes it the duty of bishops to cover up crimes committed by Romanists. It binds the Roman Catholic citizen to allegiance to a foreign potentate superior to the allegiance he owes to the United States, or any government under which he may live. It is obedience to Pope first—all other obligations afterwards, if at all. Ought a man who has taken such an oath to be allowed to become a citizen of this Republic? The Pope says Republicanism, free thought, the separation of Church and State, free schools, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence, are heresies to be put down. But the principles, aims, and purposes of Protestantism do harmonize perfectly with the spirit and tendency of the American Republic, and are the inspirer of modern civilization.

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FIFTEEN YEARS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

PERSONAL STATEMENT OF THE SUBJECT.

HE Roman Catholic Church is a sensuous religion, filling the imagination with gorgeous ceremonies, noble buildings, fine music, and stately processions. The Roman Church feeds the imagination with legends and the poetry of antiquity, and accepts for the mass of its votaries full association with the world. Roman Catholicism has penetrated into all lands, and still exerts sway over nations and languages, differing both in climate and race. She has touching services, immemorial traditions, dogma from first to last marvellous with the boldest assumption; a hierarchy graduating from the boy acolyte to the octogenarian Pope; and religious orders of endless observances and aspirations. Such, in substance, were the arguments and influences that drew me to it, and for fifteen years retained me in it. But gradually the conviction dawned upon me, that this wondrous system, such as it existed in the past and such as it exists to-day, was a colossal lie, a gigantic fraud, and a superhuman imposture. Do not

suppose that I arrived, or could have arrived, at such a conclusion at once; all my tenderer feelings recoiled from it. I looked at the hosts of excellent men and women in all ages that have belonged, and still cleave to it; and could they all have been the victims of such a delusion? But gradually this all seemed capable of being consistently explained. They seemed to have joined the Roman Catholic Church, not only pledged never to find fault with it, but to see with its eyes, hear with its ears, understand with its understanding, and stand or fall by its judgment. Their argument, I presume, would be that the Church of Rome claims to be infallible; that they submitted themselves to it as such, in the fullest confidence that its decisions can never mislead them; that they are God's voice speaking to them, which they are bound, at the peril of their salvation, never to mistrust, much less dispute. The Church of Rome claims to be infallible, and anybody who concedes, is dearer to her than anybody who disputes, her claim. "*Sanctam Catholicam et apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistrum, agnosco*" — a mediaeval phrase, of which I knew the full historical value, was what Romanists gave their adhesion before infallibility was decreed by the Vatican Council.

If the Roman Church is really infallible, I feel she will stand much more searching criticism than I can give to her. For I consider after the extreme vigor with which the claims of the Protestant Church have been examined by us all, it would be the height of disingenuousness in us to shut our eyes to any weak points of the Roman system that men and women are embracing in preference, should any such exist. I felt years ago that if I found the claims of the Church of Rome to be thoroughly in

accordance with facts, I should ever afterwards regard her with tenfold reverence from having verified them myself. If they were true, analysis, impartially conducted, could only confirm them; if they were false to any extent, or exaggerated, I conceive that we are bound in common honesty to tell the world we were deceived to that extent.

I have resided in various countries where it was dominant, and have studied its worship in town and country, and have set myself to work to improve my previous knowledge of its history in past ages. All this has been my constant employment for many years; so that I can not be said to have drawn my conclusions hastily. The conviction impressed upon me by what I have heard and seen in Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, and Canada, is that Protestant Christianity is the only good and genuine and beneficial religion. Protestantism has its weak as well as its strong side: its shortcomings historically traceable to the sins of our forefathers in no small degree.¹ Among the strong points attributable to its influences are a strong love of honesty in intention, of truthfulness in language, and of uprightness and manliness in conduct, and a still stronger abhorrence of falsehood and treachery to engagements in every form. Its virtues belong mostly to the practical and domestic order. Its weak points are too great self-reliance, too much disposition to criticise, and too little faith in the unseen. As a general rule, Roman Catholics are weak where Protestants are strongest, and strong where Protestants fail. Such results are due to the system in each case, showing imperfections in each. Roman Catholics may be compared with Prot-

¹ I hope, at no distant day, to give to the reader my impressions of Protestantism, the practical workings of the Protestant Church, and my personal experience with members of local Churches.

estants as boys brought up at a private school, or else at home, with boys brought up at a public school in America. Roman Catholics may be compared with Protestants as men educated at the universities of Paris, Munich, or Padua, with men educated at Harvard, Yale, or Princeton. And the vast difference between the moral tone of society in Protestant and Roman countries I attribute to the superiority of Protestantism and the inherent goodness of its claims.

Taking this for my guide, I have been engaged constantly in instituting comparisons between members of the Protestant Church and members of the Church of Rome generally, and between my former and my present self in particular; and the result in each case has been to confirm me in the belief that the notion of the Roman Church exercising any greater influence upon the heart and life than the Protestant Church, is not merely preposterous, but as contrary, both to faith and fact. What people say of those generally who have become Roman Catholics is, that they have deteriorated as a body, rather than advanced. And as far as my own experience goes, it is quite true; but still, I believe that Christian quality is possible in the Roman system, according to the dispositions of those who frequent it. I have found Roman Catholics—I mean the educated classes—all that in general estimate members of a Christian Church should be: God-serving, charitable, conscientious, refined, intelligent; and I could discover nothing idolatrous or superstitious in their worship, nor any thing at variance with first principles in their daily life. But afterwards, when I came to ask myself the question, Are these, then, the only true Christians that you have ever known in life? I can scarce describe the recoil that it occasioned in me!

If the Protestant Church is only a sham, and the Roman Church, without exception, a reality, how comes it that Roman Catholics are not incomparably more exalted characters than Protestants; or that Roman Catholic countries are not incomparably more penetrated to the core with Christianity than Protestant America or England? In Spain there is early Mass most mornings of the week, but you seldom, if ever, see any but women at it, and these rarely more than from ten to twenty. But on Sunday, at High Mass, the Church, as a general thing, is well filled with men and women; but the only spark of devotion you ever witness is, now and then you might see parties of four or five women sitting outside their doors, in the cool of the evening, reciting their chaplet. If the priest is affable and intelligent, and seems anxious to promote education, he is too much mixed up in the secular affairs of his parish to give much attention to it.

The honors of the priest's house are always done by one who goes by the name of his "eugina"; but she is neither his wife nor any relation to him. You can only, therefore, account for the average respect that is paid him on the supposition that such things are not uncommon. Altogether we feel strongly that there is certainly not so much Christianity in Spain as in America; that the Americans here are better educated and more intelligent in their devotions, beyond comparison, than these specimens of Spain; and that the minister here could not have a woman sitting at the head of his table, who is neither his wife nor his relation. Yet this is a country that has remained exclusively Roman Catholic since its release from the Moors.

In France the Sundays are the great days for parties and hunting, and keen sportsmen find it no small act of

self-denial to forego the latter. The principal actors in the "*chasse*" will enter church, leaving their guns, dogs, and game in the porch, just in time to save Mass; and before the service is finished, they disappear and resume their sport. And surely there can be no doubt but that we do things in reality better in America a hundredfold, notwithstanding that appearances are kept up here. In Italy, in most parts of the country, church-going is confined to Mass on Sundays, high or low,—low when any of the family communicates, which is never oftener than once a month; High Mass otherwise. And when Mass is over, everybody meets, gossips, and promenades up and down the streets till the carriages are ready to take them home. Well, we have some of this custom here in America, in country districts, but with this difference,—that most respectable people go to church twice on Sundays, and some of them likewise to a prayer and conference meeting during the week.

But Roman Catholics say that the Protestant opposition to Romanism was caused by political motives in Henry VIII's time, than which nothing can be more unfounded. Henry VIII burnt people for giving up his Six Articles, which were essentially Popish, though he would not accept the Pope's supremacy. The Reformation in England was set on foot by Edward VI, as to authority; and by martyrs, of whom Henry VIII burned many, as to individual protest. I am convinced, after reading ecclesiastical history through as a Roman Catholic, that there never was a more justifiable revolt from authority than the revolt we call the Reformation. The revolt of the United States of America from the authority of England was no more just than was the revolt of Protestantism from Romanism. And no Protestant should ever dream of

transferring his allegiance to Roman Catholicism, any more than any citizen of the United States, in his sober senses, should ever dream of transferring his own principle to the English government.

I know the Roman system. I have known it and walked in it for years. I have fasted in Lent so as to be weak in body at the end of it; I ate no meat on week days, and nothing till evening on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, and then only a little bread, or nothing; I observed strictly the weekly fasts and whatever was imposed through penance; I held that Luther and Zwingle and Wickliffe and their followers were heretics; I was taught to hate Protestantism; so that to receive a Protestant without abjuration of error was sufficient almost, if not quite, to oblige a person to leave the church, and was what finally led me from it. It did much to shatter my faith in Romanism. What delivered me from this whole system was a study of the Epistle to the Hebrews. I could not, for the Roman priesthood, give up the Priesthood of Christ, which I found to be irreconcilable. Transubstantiation, Purgatory, the worship of the Virgin and the Saints, Indulgences, the repeated Sacrifice of the Mass as an expiation for the sins of the living and the dead, the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope,—none of these, or other principles and dogmas of Rome, could I find anywhere in the Bible.

CHURCH AUTHORITY.

Romanism has no divine foundation of divine faith; it is from beginning to end denied. It has dogmas immensely important, and they are fundamental dogmas, but no divine ground of faith. The soul that has faith in God, has what the soul needs and craves after. It is

not looking about for safety, for it is safe in Him and through Him; not in self-confidence, but trusting the Good Shepherd. It does not slight the Sacraments, but is thankful for them; nor the ministry of men whom the Lord has sent. It blesses God heartily for all these things where it enjoys them, but it possesses the substance of all in Christ,—eternal life. It has peace and rest of heart in Him. When a Roman Catholic, I either *possessed* Christian faith, or I did not. If I did, my position was false; if I did not, any one can understand why I turned Protestant. I had nothing. I had authority (seemingly), but not faith in God. I believed in transubstantiation, because I received it on authority. I believed that the Roman Catholic Church was the oracle of God. The sacraments, absolution, and celibacy passed muster with all the rest, and I declared it to be a part of the original revelation. But this is no true faith in God; it is acquiescence in authority, and after all it is accrediting Rome for a fact. Rome says I can not believe in Christianity but on the authority of the Church. But how am I to believe in the Church? The first Christians could not. Antiquity, Catholicity, and Succession did not exist. They were called on to believe in Christ alone. There was no Church, and all ecclesiastical authority was against Him. The foundation of the first Christian's faith is different, on the Romanist system, from mine. Their faith could not be founded, and was not to be founded, on the Church; nor could it be with heathens now, for they do not recognize the Church. It is said that there is special grace for them; so heathens have special grace, which Christians can not have. And if, as believing in God, I seek, not Christianity, but honestly what Church is the best one, it is said I must begin by owning the

authority of that Church. But this is absurd on the face of it, for what I want to know is, Has it authority? Is it the true Church? The Church rests chiefly on the doctrine of tradition: "To learn doctrine we must have recourse to the catechisms and creeds, and after learning from them the doctrines of Christianity, the inquirer must verify them from Scripture." The first Christians certainly did not learn from creeds or catechisms, for there were none to learn them from; and now a parent, as well as a catechism, a friend, a minister, may have taught us, or the Bible may have done so. The Bible is the *only* standard. The fallacy of the statement is in this: that catechisms and creeds are here introduced, not as teaching, but as an authority,—that is, the Church is. We have received the truth from them, as truth, without saying so. Let it be true or false, it is a deceitful presentation of the matter. A parent, a friend, or a minister, is not an authority. If catechisms and creeds are only means of learning, there are a hundred others. Their authority is at the root of this tradition.

CHURCH HISTORY—THE FATHERS.

I took great delight in the study of the Fathers and Church history. There can be no doubt but that the wild vagaries of the Alexandrian Fathers gave rise to the Romish doctrine of angels and celibacy. The doctrine about souls, and angels, and dæmons (*daimōn*) is unquestionably half Platonic, and reigned among the Alexandrian Fathers. The celibacy of the priesthood undoubtedly arose from Manicheism and Gnosticism, and a semi-Jewish and semi-heathen origin. Philo, the Jewish leader, held that all was full of living beings; the sun, moon, and stars were not only animals, but most pure minds; that all the

air,—the space from the moon, the extreme of heaven proper,—to the earth was filled with souls as numerous as the stars; that the higher ones were very pure, and were dæmons,—called angels by Moses; the lower ones loved getting down into human bodies; the root of all the doctrine being the evil of matter. The supreme unknown God, who dwelt in the depths of silence, could have no connection with matter; hence emanations and the Demiurge, an inferior Creator, resulting in Gnosticism—the plague of the early Church.

Platonism, with its emanated dæmons, and the Alexandrian philosophy, divide into the Christian and heathen parties, Clement giving the perfect Christian the name of “Gnostic” (Man of Knowledge). It resulted, in another form, in Arianism, the doctrine more or less of these Alexandrian Ante-Nicene Fathers (not Irenæus), combated by Athanasius, when it came formally to a head in Arius. Hence, too, arose asceticism. Asceticism began in the Alexandrian Church; partly, indeed, by persons who fled in the Decian persecution; hence forbidding to marry, not that people might be more devoted, but as evil for the Gnostic. Origen, who was a most attractive and interesting man,—his name became the football of passion in the Church. He held that souls were born into different conditions in this world, according to their conduct in a previously existing state. He held that the fall was the pure soul of man coming into a body. Men’s souls were to work their way back to liberation from matter,—as also Alexandrian and Platonic predecessors and Gnostic contemporaries held; that was the object of the mission of Christ.

Now, asceticism proves the effect of this heathenish system of morals. The one great form of asceticism was the clergy abstaining from marriage, under the plea of

purity, taking to sleep with them females, with the same pretension to purity, alleging they were free from all evil of mind. This was one form of asceticism, but not the only one. I know they went into the desert. But this shows the nature of it. It was often condemned, but that shows it was a custom; and they had a name, both in Greek and Latin,—*suneisaktai* (subintroductæ), and *agapetai* (beloved). Irenæus himself charges the Gnostics with the same practice. And Tertullian, when a Montanist, charges the Catholics with it.

The Roman body holds celibacy, not only as a matter of discipline, but as apostolic. The Greek Church requires that priests should be married. But a man must be wholly blinded by imagination, to say celibacy is, as a rule, apostolic. What its enforcement in the Eleventh century, by Hildebrand,—though never carried through till the end of the Thirteenth,—produced, is well known. And in the Council of Nice, it was formally refused to be made a rule, though it had acquired great influence, and was resisted by Paphnutius, an unmarried bishop, as a snare.

How has duty to morals fared at the hands of the Roman Church? All honor to such men as St. Bernard and Thomas Aquinas, for their candor in denouncing the abuses of the Middle Ages! But still, that system could never have thriven, or become possessed of any such abuses, without their aid or acquiescence. I can not shut my eyes to the fact, that they clung to the system under which they lived, and never dreamt of exchanging it for another, thus proving that it existed in the main, abuses excepted, with their full concurrence. History sets forth unhesitatingly that the Roman system rose to the eminence which it occupied in the Thirteenth century, when

at her zenith, most unrighteously, by fraud and force; by the weapon of the weak and the weapon of the strong, alternately put into her hand, and employed by her as legitimate, for the spread of her own power, to the dismemberment and destruction of the Church at large.

BIBLICAL CHRISTIANITY.

Protestantism asserted the authority of the Bible and maintained the direct responsibility of each conscience to God alone, as contrasted with the domination of priests. The question with me was, What was to have authority over my conscience: the Bible, or the Clergy and Tradition? I found that the Protestant principle was the absolute authority of Biblical Christianity, and that each local Church framed its own profession of faith. It was the protest of the conscience against the most horrible system of iniquity that ever withered and overwhelmed the human conscience. It was not merely negative; there was the positive assertion of common fundamental dogmas,—such as justification by faith, the two sacraments, and other anti-Romanist ones. Protestantism and Christianity had become convertible terms. I am a Christian, and not a Romanist; and if there is anything that I love dearly,—crazily, let it be called, for aught I care,—it is the Christian religion.¹

There is a passage of Xenophon which says that Persian law treated ingratitude as a heinous crime. My own feelings are that no punishment would be too great for

¹ Many years ago, in 1858, when only twelve years old, I was left an orphan in a Roman Catholic school, to go through a preparatory course of instruction before studying for the priesthood. In 1864 I was converted, and after a thorough study of the New Testament, I was led to renounce Roman Catholicism and embrace Protestantism.

me, were Christianity to cease to be my fondest object in life. It alone stands between me and a yawning abyss, to which I can see no end. It alone prevents me, hourly, from cursing the day on which I was born. Go where I will, look where I will, past, present, and future stare me in the face with a picture of doubt and perplexity, of sin and misery, that, but for Christianity, I should not have strength to contemplate, or be able to reconcile with the existence of a just and merciful God. Christianity will not answer all my difficulties; but it answers so many of them, and so satisfactorily, that I can well afford to wait in confidence for the solution of the rest, which it intimates for purposes of my probation are withheld now, which it assumes will be vouchsafed hereafter,—when we ourselves shall, if faithful, be admitted with glorified faculties into visible fellowship with Him, by whom all things were made, to hear them explained.

Meanwhile, from the experience which I have of it in my own person, and from what I have seen in others, those who have been brought up in it, and those who have never known it, or cast it off, I am morally convinced that its influences are of the most humanizing description of any within man's reach; having a direct tendency to develop all that is high and capable of development in us, if it had our full co-operation, to a point incredible; and to eradicate or keep in check all that is debasing in us, but in resisting which our probation consists: inspiring us with a desire, based upon the purest motives, to relieve the wants, inequalities, and miseries that we see around us, and making our own homes all the happier, the better ordered, and more respectable, the more we can, each one of us who compose them, regulate our lives by its precepts.

CHAPTER II.

CATHOLICITY AND UNITY.

S the imagination of men is sought to be filled with an idea of the Catholicity and Unity of the Roman Church, it is needful to turn to the facts, that one may know that what is called the Roman Catholic Church was the most divided thing in the world. Its pretension to catholicity is absurd, as probably the majority of Christendom, and certainly the most ancient Churches, are outside its pale. Unity hence fails in its first element. There is no unity now;—nor was there in the Roman body in former times. All the assertions as to the pretended Catholic Church are unfounded. The majority of professing Christians do not belong to Rome. There are one hundred and sixteen millions of Protestants, and I suppose seventy-eight millions of Greeks, besides Arminians and Jacobites in the East, whose numbers are not exactly known, but of which there must be about seven millions, so that in round numbers there are, giving the largest margin, some one hundred and ninety millions connected with Rome, and some two hundred and one millions separate from it. Hence there is no pretension of catholicity.

As to antiquity, it is that Eastern Christendom is more ancient than Rome. The Buddhists have between four and five hundred millions, and constitute by far the most numer-

ous religion in the world. The Mohammedans count some one and seventy millions. They are spreading rapidly in Africa, through having the power in their hands and the prohibition for any Mohammedan to make a slave of another. The Brahminical religion counts about two hundred millions of votaries; other heathens, perhaps over two hundred millions. This will disabuse the imagination of the idea of the catholic or universal character of Rome.

Besides this, there are Canada, the West Indies, and a scattered population, which can not very much affect the balance either way. The main numbers are pretty nearly correct; were there five millions wrong in either, it would not affect the question we are considering. Then, between Turkey, the Austrian possessions, Russia, and the East, the Greeks must number some sixty millions, besides smaller but ancient bodies. So that Christendom not connected with Rome numbers some one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy millions; Rome some one hundred and thirty millions. That is a strange way of being catholic, which means universal. The Greek Churches in Asia are more ancient than Rome. Rome was the last founded of which we have any original history, and Greeks, Nestorians, and Jacobites were all separate from Rome, the earliest in the Fifth, and the latest in the Ninth century. They insist on the word catholic, and on their adversaries admitting the term; this is equally false. The Greeks never call them Catholics, nor intelligent Protestants either; and were it otherwise it would be no more than calling Protestant places of worship churches, and theirs and others' chapels. It proves nothing. To use a lawyer's maxim: *Allegatio ejusdem rei cuius dissolutio petitur, nil valet.* (To allege that as proof which is the thing sought to be disproved has no force.) There

are the Greek body, the Latin body, the Episcopal body, the Lutheran body, each established in different countries, in America all on the same footing. Catholicity does not exist.

THE GREEK AND PROTESTANT SCHISM.

The formal teaching of the Popes, ever since the schism of the Greek Church began till now, has been that the Church is *divided* as regards her members, and that there are Churches forming part of the Catholic Church, which are, and have been for ages, out of communion with the Roman Church. The Popes, indeed, have never practically said this of any Churches but the Greek, and of the Greek but those communicating with the Patriarch of Constantinople. But in admitting this much, they most unquestionably concede that what we call the Roman Catholic Church has not constituted the whole Church, nor have they themselves consequently spoken at the head of the whole Church since the Greek schism. In general, the action of Rome has been prompt, peremptory, and decisive, almost to a fault; bold, almost to rashness; unhesitating, almost to arrogance;—she seems intent on impressing with nothing so much as her own asserted unity, her utter inability to commit a mistake of any kind, or be in the wrong.

Contrast this with her extraordinary shiftiness and indecision on the added Articles, the old and interpolated clause concerning the “Procession of the Holy Ghost,” which caused the Greek schism. When has she ever affirmed them to be doctrinally the same? What, according to her, is the exact difference between their respective Churches? Pope Leo III forbade the use of the interpolated form. His successors winked at it, and ended

by adopting it themselves; still, they doubted about enforcing it on those who clung to the old form. Gregory X read the letters of the Greeks at the Second Council of Lyons, begging to be excused using the interpolated Article without answering them,—“Because of his extreme bitterness in beholding the rent of the Universal Church, foreshadowed in the net of Peter the fisherman, that brake for the multitude of fishes enclosed. We do not say divided as regards its faith, but notoriously and lamentably divided as regards its faithful members.”

Nicolas III went further, and added that “as unity of faith could not consist with diversity in those that professed . . . , therefore, the desire of the Roman Church was, that the added Article should be chanted uniformly with the additional clause by the Greeks as well as the Latins.” This was in effect deciding that the old form of the Creed should be superseded; but it was never carried out. When the subject was revived at the Council of Florence, Rome was more diplomatic than she had ever been previously. No Creed at all was recited there, nor was any hint dropped whether both forms conjointly, or one without the other, should be considered the Creed of the Church.

These various policies having to be reconciled with each other, it was at length ruled by Clement VIII and Benedict XIV, successively, that the Greeks were no heretics, and that they should still be regarded as members of the Roman Church. The representatives of the Greek Church sat in the Council of Florence, debated and subscribed on the same terms as the Roman. Pope Eugenius IV told his legates: “It is for the union of the Greek and Roman Church, so long and ardently desired by us, that you are sent.” And when he despaired of union he told

the Greeks: "In what shall we be benefited if we fail to unite the Church of God?" What, then, are the conclusions ensuing from the facts which have been adduced? First, that Rome has both erred from the faith in point of dogma, and has trifled with it in practice so often, that her conduct has been a stumbling-block to Christendom and occasioned a division of the Greek Church on doctrinal grounds. Secondly, that by allowing the primitive belief of the Church to be stealthily supplanted by a new belief based upon falsehoods, which she herself accepted without examination, and endeavored to make binding upon others by violence, she has occasioned a division of the Greek and Roman Churches on disciplinary grounds. In other words, that it is to the flagrant unfaithfulness and injustice of her governmental policy, both as regards doctrine and discipline, that secession from her communion has been, and is still, due. Rome became a prey to dissension, split into fragments, and had its own belief questioned retributively for its conduct toward the Greek Church, which it trampled on for upholding the original belief of the Church.

THE REFORMATION.

When the Greek Church separated from the Roman Church, the Greek constituted the majority by far; but when Protestants separated from Rome, the majority by far sided with Rome. Adding to the Belief of the Church produced the Greek schism, and subtracting from the Belief of the Church the Protestant separation. The Reformation was at once the avenger and logical offspring of the schism between the Greek and Roman. Frederick of Saxony, Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth, together with Luther and Wickliffe, prescribed a Belief

which Protestants accepted, as much as Charlemagne and Henry II prescribed one which the Greeks rejected. The Roman system might well be supposed to have adopted a more confident tone since the Reformation, but the closer it is scrutinized the further it is seen to be from unhesitating and decisive. Those who had renounced their Communion were invited to the Council of Trent, not to be condemned, but to be heard.

If Luther was excommunicated twice, the Confession of Augsburg has never as yet been anathematized. It might be said that all this has been the effect of moderation and paternal tenderness on the part of the Popes. One of the most warmly-debated points in modern times has been the power of the Popes and their true relation to the Church. Who can fail to be struck with the absence of any formal assertion on their part, that the terms "Catholic" and "Roman Catholic" are strictly convertible? The fact is, they have never striven to appropriate the term "Catholic" pure and simple to their own Communion, but have commonly called it themselves, and been content that it should be called by others, the Roman Catholic Church, as being its strict and adequate title. No doubt, the teaching of all those who obey them has always been that the Catholic Church has a visible unity upon earth, under the Pope. But all such teaching, read by the light of their own admissions respecting the Greek Church, is seen to be but a declaration of what ought to be, not of what is; a picture of the ideal or of the primitive, not of the actually existing Church.

Where, indeed, is the part of Christendom seriously purporting to call itself the Catholic Church in these days? Protestant or Reformed Episcopal, Presbyterian or Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, or Quaker,—all in

their degree seem influenced by some hidden spell to abstain from arrogating to themselves, or attributing to each other, the epithet of "Catholic," as it is applied to the Church of Rome. It may seem useless to devote any time to the discussion of a question so apparently unimportant as the growth of a religious denomination; but unnecessary as the examination into religious differences is, on general principles, there is in the present instance a deep foundation in fact for the discussion. Within certain limits it is undoubtedly safe to leave differences of religious belief to take care of themselves. But we sadly misunderstand the laws of human development if we suppose that a vast and overshadowing system like Roman Catholicism can be safely passed by in silence and unconcern. What applies to doctrinal differences among Protestant denominations, does not apply to Roman Catholicism. In point of fact, the Roman Catholic Church aims at a spiritual and temporal sovereignty, which separates it in kind no less than in degree from other bodies of the Christian faith. Recognizing no equal, and regarding all forms of Protestantism since the Reformation as so many phases of infidelity, Roman Catholicism comes before us, not as a system claiming to be approved according to its merits, but as a system claiming to be on all subjects a supreme and infallible judge.

INTERNAL DIVISIONS.

Roman Catholics allege that they are at unity among themselves. A little body like the Moravians could say as much. I admit that the Roman system is admirably organized, that centralization¹ (which was in no way the

¹ This centralization has been very diligently carried out. Not only in early ages was one universal episcopacy insisted on, but in details

case in early ages) has been carried out with admirable skill. That its leaders have known how to draw into its effective force the means at its disposal, in an admirable way, as to skill,—that it has used its power over the populations to make kings and the civil power subservient to it,—is all true. Every intelligent man is aware and owns this. But there have been serious divisions within itself, as Gallicanism, Jansenism, Jesuitism, Dominicanism, and Franciscanism. It does not hold on some really important points what its greatest doctors once held; and as to many of its own dogmas, there have been great changes. The seat of religious authority, in its present form, dates only from the Council of Trent; and upon the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception the Thomists and Scotists, Dominicans and Franciscans, have been altogether divided. But the Papacy has succeeded in reducing them all to order. Centralized power has prevailed.

As to infallibility, the Roman creed is not quite ten years old at the present moment, and general councils confirmed by Popes held to be in error. The Immaculate Conception is eighteen or twenty years old, and Transubstantiation is some six hundred and sixty years. Pope Pius IV added twelve new articles in 1564, and Pope Pius IX two more in 1854 and 1870. Still the Pope has succeeded in bringing all the Roman body into unity of dependence on himself, and he can decree what he likes as a matter of faith, but only for his own body. The

the process of centralization has been carried on. After canonization of saints came in, prelates besides the Pope did it, till a decree of a Pope in the Middle Ages appropriated it to the See of Rome. So, with indulgences, all prelates gave or sold them. That, too, was appropriated to the Pope.

Greeks reject his authority, and the Protestants look with horror on his taking a place which belongs to God only; — that is, the greater part of Christendom. No infallibility can hinder differences so long as the human mind works. The doctrine of the Greeks differs from the doctrines of Rome, the Nestorians differ from both, the Jacobites from all, and the Protestants from the system they have abandoned.

This only proves that the Roman Church has failed in hindering divisions and maintaining unity. The divisions existed there before Protestants were there. With these divisions the question is, What is the rule to judge which is the right one? Not the authority of one giving itself as the rule. That is what Rome does.

Divisions prove the infirmity of human nature, only that it is much more excusable in Protestants just coming out of the dark obscurity and superstition men were immersed in during the Middle Ages than in Greece and Rome, whose common starting point was pure Christianity. And men must not suppose differences do not exist among Romanists. The Dominicans resisted with all their force the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary (lately made by Pope Pius IX a matter of faith), so that there was the most important body of Romanists (till the Jesuits, the inventors and directors of the Inquisition, rose) judges thus of heretical gravity, unsound on what is now declared to be an article of faith. The Augustinians believe in predestination; the Roman Catholic priests deny it. And so far did these disputes go that the Dominicans, in the Seventeenth century, charged the Jesuits with maintaining the idolatry of the Chinese in their missions in China. For years the inquiry was pursued before the Pope, and the practices sanctioned by the Jesuits at last

condemned by Pope Clement XI, in 1704.¹ The decree was mitigated in 1715. Now, the allowance of heathen idolatry was a much graver difference than the details on which Protestants differ, while agreeing in fundamental principles.

Then there is an all-important difference on the subject of authority and infallibility. It is a noticeable circumstance, that it was the same man, Bossuet, who wrote a crafty book on the variations of Protestants, who led the way in this important variation among Romanists, and defended it against the attacks of Ultramontanes as they are called,—that is, the extreme defenders of the Pope's claims. Ultramontane principles prevail now, but to this day Gallican principles, which deny the Pope's infallibility, hold their ground in France and Germany. Disputes and discussions belong to human nature, and where there is more freedom for it, it appears more openly, as among Protestants. In Rome, though violent, it is more connected with intrigues and less exposed to view. Unity and catholicity do not exist.

But Romanists say that the Protestant system has issued not merely in a multitude of sects, but in rationalism, so-called, and infidelity. I deny the statement altogether. Infidelity is far more general in Roman Catholic countries than in Protestant ones. It is more published, perhaps, in Protestant countries, because there are more intellectual activity and greater freedom. Not only the

¹ The decree of 1715 allowed the Chinese to continue the worship of their ancestors with gifts and burnings before them, and prostrating themselves, the principal worship of the heathen Chinese. Since China has been opened to Europeans, they have found a great dragon on the altar of a Jesuit church of that day, so that the Chinese could worship that and the host at the same time.

French Revolution was in a Roman Catholic country, and spread its principles over such, but, in more modern times, when the violent reaction against the Papal system was over, Gregory XVI gives us this account in his encyclical letter of 1832: "We speak, venerable brethren, that which ye behold with your own eyes, which therefore we deplore with united tears. An unrestrained wickedness, a shameless science, a dissolute licentiousness, are triumphant. The sanctity of holy things is despised!" After stating that the Church was exposed to the hatred of the people, he adds: "The academies and schools resounded in a dreadful manner with new and monstrous opinions, by which the Catholic faith is no longer assailed secretly, but a horrible and impious war is now openly waged against it"; and then refers to attacks on the order of the Church by members of the clergy and associations of them.

Roman Catholic countries are not more exempt from infidelity than the Protestant. There is no one acquainted with Roman Catholic and Protestant nations but knows that faith and morality are more common in the masses in Protestant than in Roman Catholic nations. Abject superstition—devotion, if they please to call it so—is to be found in the darker parts of the land in Roman Catholic countries, and closely connected, very commonly, with violence and corruption. The Italian brigands are most devout; and in Spain, houses of ill-fame supply the needed certificate of priestly absolution to commercial travelers, who never trouble themselves with priests, when these documents were needed for their journey off the great routes. And no one can have been in Western Papal Europe without knowing the universal spread of infidelity, where there was any energy of civilization, and the degradation and corruption which pervade those countries.

They tell us the true Church is catholic, or universal, in three several respects: as to persons, as to places, and as to times. We are told that it consists of the most numerous body of Christians; that is, it is not universal as to persons. We are told it is more or less diffused wherever Christianity prevails; that is, it is not universal as to places. In fact, in many countries, it is a very small minority. It is said that it constitutes the main stock of Christianity; but if it is only the main stock, it is not catholic. Every one who is acquainted with the facts, knows that unity and catholicity are not to be found embodied anywhere in Christendom. Whoever be right and whoever be wrong, the unity does not exist and the Roman or Latin body is not catholic because it is Roman, and it is so constantly called by Popes and Councils. When it insisted on Rome being supreme, catholicity and unity departed, even in outward form, from Christendom.

CHAPTER III.

TRADITIONS.

HE authority of tradition, unwritten or oral teaching, arose from the controversy which took place between the Christian Fathers and the Gnostics, Montanists, and Valentinianists¹ of the early centuries. The Gnostics (Men of Knowledge) first contended for some teachings delivered by tradition and not contained in the Bible; the early Fathers resisted this. When tradition was first spoken of by the early Fathers, they used it as a testimony to confirm teaching already in existence, and not as containing anything new. The Fathers used tradition with a good intention, and their practice not only fails altogether as a secure proof, but it condemns the traditions of Rome. And we condemn the Romanists, because all their peculiar teachings are novelties, the dates or gradual introduction of them being historically demonstrable. Thus, Purgatory was hinted at in the Fifth century; said to be useful for very small sins in the Sixth, and then only gradually grew up. Transubstantiation was never decreed definitely until the Thirteenth century, and the contrary

¹ The Gnostics, Montanists, and Valentinianists were called heretics. They taught that there were two Gods,—a good and bad one,—and pretended to some secret or concealed doctrine. The Romanist is clearly on the ground the heretics were on.

was taught by the most famous doctors previously. The saints were prayed for, and not to, for centuries, so that they had to alter the Roman liturgy to suit the change. The Sacrifice of the Mass can be traced from the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving (whence the word "Eucharist"), but till very late, to its being the real sacrifice of Christ, efficacious for the sins of quick and dead, and the liturgy was changed accordingly. Romanists are now in the position of the Gnostics of old, alleging tradition¹ for new doctrines, which are not found in the Bible.

We can appeal to history and prove the introduction of the particular doctrines they insist on, as novelties in the Christian Church. The Romish Church cites the Fathers, and it will be useful in many respects to refer to them. The fact is, the Fathers argued as it suited them at the moment. When the Gnostics pressed them, they flew to tradition. The reasonings of the Fathers will give us the worth of their testimony and how they contradict, not each other merely, but themselves. Clement of Alexandria resisted the Gnostics, who infested the Church. He said to them that there were Christian Gnostics, who, by temperance (a human thing) and prudence (a Divine thing) arrived at Gnosis (knowledge), and thus had got higher truths and intelligence to understand what was concealed from vulgar eyes. Clement, after all, was not very famous for orthodoxy. He was saturated with Alexandrian Platonism, and used very awkward lan-

¹ The traditions of the Roman Church fill one hundred and thirty-five immense folios, all in the Latin tongue: one Papal Bulls, in eight volumes; two Decretals, in ten volumes; the Fathers, in thirty-five volumes; the Saints, in fifty-one volumes. The word "tradition" is shamefully abused. Tradition means now what is handed down, unwritten, from one to another.

guage, so that the famous Romanist doctor, Petau, charges him plainly with not speaking in an orthodox way.

Cyprian, whom the Romanists pass over quite naturally, strenuously resisted all the pretensions of Rome till the day he was martyred. Pope Stephen of Rome (253), not being able to prove his point against him on a subject of practice and discipline, appealed to tradition. Stephen said: "Let nothing be innovated on what has been handed down" (tradition). Cyprian replied: "Whence is that tradition? What obstinacy is that [in the Pope], what presumption, to prefer human tradition to a Divine disposition, and not to take notice that God is indignant and angry as often as human tradition sets aside and passes by Divine precepts!"

The testimony of the early Fathers is unanimous against tradition as being superior to the Bible. Basil (Fourth century) wrote nearly four hundred years after Christ, when superstitions were creeping in and false doctrines had made havoc of the Church. Men used to live in sin, and wait till they were dying, to be baptized, in order to get off quite clear. I do not mean that all did, but adduce the fact to show the corruption that had come in. Basil himself, too, became suspected of heresy. He never would say the Holy Ghost was God. The excuse was, that if he had, he would have been driven from his See, and the heretics would have had all his flock in their power; so he avoided the word, but said what was equivalent. Epiphanius (Fourth century) applies also the authority of tradition only to practice; namely, that unmarried persons who dedicated themselves to God sinned if they married afterwards, and ought to be accepted as founded on tradition. He is reasoning against those who forbade to marry, and says the Church approved

marriage, but admired people not marrying, and then refers to tradition as helpful in understanding the Bible. Athanasius, Ambrose, Gregory Nyssa, Jerome, and Augustine used the best grounds they thought they could find, and when heretics, Popes, or councils, pleaded tradition, said all must be proved by the Bible. When religion became a religion of ordinances, the traditions that were in vogue for them became the groundwork of all the Christian system, and the Bible disappeared. Chrysostom urges, with all persevering eloquence and zeal, every body's reading the Bible; saying they were written by poor, uneducated men, on purpose that they might be plain for such, and that laymen occupied in the world had more need to read them than monks or clergy. Augustine says, that if the doctors of the Church go wrong, he is not bound by them; and this is an additional proof of the uncertainty of tradition. The primacy of St. Peter at Rome and the Invocation of Saints is a question of tradition. The Nestorians refused to call Mary the mother of God,¹ and the Immaculate Conception is nothing but a tradition.

THE VIRGIN MARY.

It is the common doctrine that the Virgin has more power in heaven than God,—that the mother can command her son. It is expressly founded on a mother having pre-eminence and being superior to a son. The words in Latin are "*Sequitur quod ipsa benedicta Virgo sit superior Deo*" (It follows that the blessed Virgin herself is superior to God). And so it is said that God has reserved the supremacy of justice, but given up to the Virgin the supremacy of grace. Thus, in "The Glories

¹ The heathen, who had rejected the preaching of Christ, gave up their temples in crowds when they had a woman to worship.

of Mary," by Ligouri, a sinner, after singing the "Hail, Mary," to an image of the Virgin, "saw an infant covered with wounds streaming with blood . . . he began to weep; but he saw the infant turning away from him . . . he had recourse to the most holy Virgin, saying: 'Mother of Mercy, thy Son rejects me.' The Virgin reproached him with renewing the Passion of Jesus. But because Mary knows not how to send away disconsolate a soul that has recourse to her, she turned to her Son to ask pardon for that miserable sinner. Jesus still appeared unwilling to forgive him; but the holy Virgin, placing the infant in the niche, prostrated herself before him, saying: 'Son, I will not depart from thy feet till thou dost pardon this sinner.' Jesus then said: 'Mother, I can refuse thee nothing. Thou dost wish me to pardon him; for thy sake I pardon him. Make him come and kiss my wounds.' The sinner came, weeping bitterly, and as he kissed the wounds of the infant, they were healed. In the end, Jesus embraced him in token of his pardon; the sinner changed his conduct, and afterwards led a holy life, enamored of the most holy Virgin."

It is for Mary's sake that Christ pardons the sinner. Their excuse is, that "Jesus is the only Mediator of justice between men and God . . . but because men recognize and fear in Him (Jesus Christ) the divine majesty which resides in Him as God, the Lord wished to appoint another advocate, to whom we could have recourse with less fear and with more confidence. This advocate is Mary." There is need, then, of a medium with the Mediator himself! The images are the living persons; they do not, as falsely alleged, merely recall these. Real idols! Mercy is in Mary, not in Jesus! "She knows so well how to appease the Divine justice,

by her tender and wise prayers, that God himself blesses her for it, and, as it were, thanks her for thus keeping Him from abandoning them to the chastisements which they deserve!" She is a mediatrix of justice, really, in these stupid follies.

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

The early Fathers speak of prayers for the dead, not of Purgatory. The dead were remembered in the sacrifice of the altar; but this had no possible connection with Purgatory, for they named the patriarchs, apostles, prophets, martyrs, and the Virgin Mary herself. It is a curious fact, that these very prayers for the dead saints were turned into prayers to the saints. These prayers are found in all the ancient liturgies. Thus, in that ascribed to James: "Remember, Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the orthodox whom we have commemorated and whom we have not commemorated, from righteous Abel unto this day. Give them rest, there, in the land of the living in Thy Kingdom, in the delight of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers, whence pain, sorrow, and groaning are exiled, where the light of Thy countenance looks down," etc. And St. Chrysostom: "And further, we offer to Thee this reasonable service in behalf of those who have departed in the faith: our ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, preachers, evangelists, confessors, virgins, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith . . . especially the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious lady, the mother of God and ever Virgin Mary." Epiphanius specially remarks, that Christ alone, as testifying to the glory of His person, was not prayed for.

St. Gregory, who formed the Roman liturgy, will suffice: "Remember, O Lord, thy servants (male and female) who have preceded us with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. To them, and to all who are at rest (*quiescentibus*) in Christ, we entreat Thou shouldest grant a place of refreshment and light and peace." Nor is this all. In one of the decretals, after a long discussion whether the water as well as the wine in the Mass is changed into blood, Pope Innocent III replies to another question of the archbishop of Lyons why, when in the ancient liturgies, in a part of the service called the *Secreta* (where the name of the person in whose honor the Mass was said was mentioned), it ran thus: "Grant, Lord, that this offering may profit the soul of Thy servant, Leo." It was then said: "Grant us, that by the intercession of thy servant, Leo, this oblation may profit us." Pope Innocent tells him that Scripture says that it is injurious to the saints to think they need to be prayed for when they are in life. As to how the change came about, he says nothing; but in looking for glory for the saints, it must be their being honored among men, and refers to St. Augustine's statements,—calling it Scripture; thanksgiving for very good; prayer for middling good, and solace to middling bad; and tells the archbishop that whether it be so, he leaves to him to investigate. Thus the liturgy was changed. Still, the prayer for rest for those asleep in Christ remains. The force of this has been felt, and, in a modern Roman Catholic Prayer Book, approved by the late Archbishop Hughes, of New York, it is said to be for souls in Purgatory, though it is expressly for all who rest in Christ—*omnibus quiescentibus in Christo*.

PURGATORY.

But the greatest and most influential tradition of the Roman Church is that of Purgatory. The Roman Church teaches that there are two middle places, called Limbo and Purgatory. The doctrine is confused enough. The Hell to which the Saviour descended is said to contain three places: First, Hell proper, where the wicked are tormented; secondly, the fire of Purgatory; lastly, a third sort of receptacle is that in which were received the souls of the pious who died before the advent of Christ. These pious souls Christ liberated; for after all they were kept in painful suspense (*suspensi torquebantur*) and miserable wearisomeness (*misera molestia*). But here Purgatory is a distinct thing. Christ brought to Heaven, according to the Roman Catholic doctrine, the holy fathers and the other pious souls freed from prison. But then, they do hold that some were suffering the most acute torments, as those in Purgatory do. Alphonsus de Castro and some Roman Catholic bishops admit that there was nothing about Purgatory in the early centuries; especially the Greek Fathers and the Greek Church deny the doctrine; and passages from Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Dionysius, Justin Martyr, Athanasius, Hilary, and Ambrose may be quoted, which plainly set aside Purgatory. Macarius puts the three states: Guilty (the devil) takes it off the holy servant of God; angels bring them to the Lord with all his soul; He cleanses him in one hour, and takes him unto His bosom and to see light. Thus Athanasius says the first pass out of this world into everlasting rest. Ambrose says wise men desire death as a rest from their labors and an end of their evils. Gregory Nazianzen says: "Nor beyond this night [of this life] is there any purifying." So the famous Cyril of Alexandria says: "For He

delivered His own soul into the hands of His own Father, that we, taking our point of departure in it, and on account of it, may have splendid hopes, firmly feeling and believing that we, having undergone the death of the flesh, shall be in the hands of God, and shall be in a far better state." Hilary insists on all being settled at death; for though judgment is to come, still the case is settled in death. There is no putting off or delay, for the day of judgment is the eternal retribution of blessedness or punishment; but the time of death holds each one meanwhile by its own laws. Nor do the Roman Catholics deny that those who go to Purgatory are forgiven and justified, and the principle of sin (*peccati fomes*) is gone. It is penal suffering from God after guilt and sin are wholly gone. I do not give the Fathers as my authority, but as showing the common current belief; for as to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, it is entirely out of the question.

The Romanists teach that there are two kinds of sin —mortal sin, which deserves Hell, and venial sin, which deserves Purgatory. The Roman Catechism of the Council of Trent contains the following: "There is also the fire of Purgatory, in which the souls of just men are purified by a temporary punishment, to qualify them to be admitted into their eternal country, into which nothing defiling entereth."¹ ("Præterea est Purgatorius ignis,² quo piorum animæ ad definitum tempus cruciæ expiantur, ut eis in æternam patriam ingressus patere possit.") It is

¹ The words of the Catechism are given from J. Donovan's—a professor at Maynooth college—translation.

² The words "*purgantur*" and "*expiantur*" are used for clearing the tormented souls from it, because Heaven can not be defiled. But it shows the mere external character of the remedy of their

singular enough, this obscurity and inconsistency of the Catechism of the Council of Trent on this subject. In the article on the Descent into Hell, besides what I have just quoted, after speaking of Purgatory, it is said: "The third kind of abode is that in which were received the souls of the just who died before Christ, and where, without experiencing any kind of pain, supported by the blessed hope of redemption, they enjoyed peaceful repose. These pious souls, then, who in the bosom of Abraham were expecting the Saviour, Christ the Lord liberated, descending into Hell." Shortly after, in the same article, it is said, speaking of the descent of the just: "They all descended: some to endure the most acute torments; others, though exempt from actual pain, yet deprived of the vision of God and of the glory for which they sighed, and consigned to the torture of suspense in painful captivity." Is being consigned to the torture of suspense in painful captivity, peaceful repose in the bosom of Abraham?

The fire of Purgatory is the second thing. *Limbus Patram* is the third kind of abode, where there was no pain, but peaceful repose; yet some were there to endure the most accute torments. In a further passage it is said: "And the souls of the just, on their departure from this life, were borne to the bosom of Abraham; or, as is still the case with those who require to be freed from the stains of sin, or die indebted to the Divine justice, were purified in the fire of Purgatory." Hence, the souls of the just, who were enjoying peaceful repose

idea of sin. It looks like quibbling on the Latin word "*purgor*," which means to put away, in the way of expiation, and not purging of a soul. *Expiantur* is a sacrificial word, expressing the removal of what, in any way, offends the gods, or is offensive in their sight.

in the torture of suspense, must have been perfect souls; the others were in the fires of Purgatory, as people are now. The Jews' belief is that Abraham descended, from time to time, to deliver souls. Cardinal Bellarmine insists that it is a material fire;—a strange thing for souls to suffer from!—but what is more important, he declares that the element of sin (*the fomes peccati*) is gone by death, because sensuality is extinguished; habits, not. But they must soon be gone, too,—nay, at once, though that is not the case in this life, because there will be no contrary and resisting element as there is here; nor is Purgatory for these habits, as adults who die directly after baptism and martyrs do not go there. Yet, neither baptism nor martyrdom destroys them. After reasoning thus, and saying Purgatory was for none of these, he adds: "There remain the penalties of guilt and venial sins, which may properly be called the remains of sins, on which account Purgatory is. But these remains, it is sometimes certain, are purged in death. Sometimes it is certain they are not purged; sometimes it is doubtful which happens; and it is most probable they are partly purged and partly not purged."¹ I cite this because it is thus clear, from the highest authority of the Roman Catholic Church, that it is not inward spiritual purifying,—for sensuality is extinguished by death,—not even habits, but the penalty of guilt and venial sin. It is strictly penal and satisfactory; and secondly, it is exactly for that ("the remains of sin,"

¹ "Restat ergo reatus poenæ, et peccata venialia, que proprie dici possunt reliquiæ peccatorum, ob quas est Purgatorium. Has autem reliquias aliquando certum est in morte purgari: aliquando certum est non purgari: aliquando dubium est, quid fiat, probabilissimum est, partem purgari, partem non purgari."—Bellarmine *De Purg.*: Lib. II, Cap. IX, 7.

which Extreme Unction¹ takes away) that men go into Purgatory.

"The pains of Purgatory," says Bellarmine, "are most horrible (*atrocissimæ*). It can not be said how long they last; they may diminish gradually." This he proves by visions. He enlarges upon the proofs of the horrible pains compared with any thing here. In result for the slightest faults (if Pope Gregory the Great is to be believed), and with no view to purify from lust or sensuality (for that is extinguished), justified, holy souls, in a state of grace, are kept in torment as a mere penal satisfaction. The Roman Catechism would lead us to conclude, that as there were these pious people in Purgatory before Christ descended, as well as saints in Abraham's bosom,—though in repose,—tortured by suspense, though sustained by hope (a strange kind of repose), the other pious souls not completely saints tortured horribly in the fire; so when He descended, these last got off to Heaven as well as the saints, properly speaking. We are not told who finished their satisfaction for them, without which they could not be clean. They were better off than those now in Purgatory, any way. These, we are told, must pay the last farthing, or they can not come out thence. Better to have been a Jew, any way, than a Christian. However that may be, it is to be taught that Christ the Lord went down to Hell to liberate from prison those holy fathers and the other pious persons, and brought them to Heaven. Yet, those in Purgatory now enjoy the effects of Christ's expiation, are in a state of grace, and, Cardinal

¹ "Cujus unctu delicta, si quæ sint adhuc expienda, ac peccati reliquias abstergit."—*Concil. Tridentini, Sessio XIV, De Sacr. Extremæ Unctionis, Cap. II.* This is exactly what Bellarmine says souls go to Purgatory for.

Bellarmino tells us, of their salvation, no principle of sin in them; but there they must stay till they have made satisfaction for their faults. The happier Jews of Old Testament times got clear without doing so; because what Christ did was to impart the benefit of His Passion to them, of which the Christians who have to stay enjoy the benefit, but only to bring them into Purgatory; for otherwise they would have gone into Hell. They are all strange inventions, and hence confusion.

But the true source of Purgatory is a mixture of Judaism and Platonism. Roman Catholic authors refer to both as being the same doctrine, in substance, as the Romanist doctrine of Purgatory. No one denies that the modern idea of Purgatory is found no where so clearly stated as in Plato. Cardinal Bellarmine, the Jesuit, and the highest authority in Roman circles, appeals to Plato, Cicero, Virgil, and the Mohammedans, to prove that it is according to natural light.¹ After a pretty elaborate description of Hades, or the infernal regions, Plato says: "These things being so, when those who are departed come to the place where the daimonion carries each,² first they are distinguished in judgment, both those who have lived well and piously and righteously, and those who have not; and those who have seemed to live in a middle way having come to the Acheron, having ascended the vehicle for each, they come to the lake, and there they dwell, and being purified and paying the penalty

¹ "If Plato (Plato in Georgia), Virgil (*Æneid I, 6*), and other heathens, ancient and modern, as likewise Mahomet (the Koran) and his disciples . . . have embraced this doctrine, it only shows how conformable it is to the dictates of natural religion."

² Daimon, with Plato, is an instrument of Divine agency, not bad as such.

of their unrighteous deeds, they are absolved, if any one has acted unrighteously, and have the rewards of their good deeds, each according to his desert. But those who seem to be incapable of being healed, because of the greatness of their sins,—having committed either many or great sacrileges, or many unrighteous and illegal murders, or whatever else such-like they may be involved in,—these a fitted fate hurries away to Tartarus, whence they never get out; but those who have committed such as may be healed, yet great sins, . . . are kept a year, and, if need be, more, till they obtain release from those they have injured for the wrongs done: for that is the penalty adjudged them. . . . But those who are esteemed to have excelled as regards living piously,—these, liberated and removed from their places on the earth as from prisons, going away to the pure dwelling place, dwell over the earth. And if these same [those who have been adequately purified by philosophy] live without pain all time hereafter, and come into a better habitation than these, which it is not easy to describe."

And again, "If a soul depart in this state [a good one] it departs to what is like itself, and invisible—what is divine, immortal, and wise, and coming there, begins to be happy, is freed from the contagion of human ills, and is in the society of the Gods. But if it shall depart contaminated out of the body, it will be, when separated, impure.¹ Those who have passed through life justly and piously, when they die, go to the isles of the blessed, to dwell in all happiness, without any evils. But he who has lived unrighteously and without God, will go to the prison of vengeance and punishment which they call Tar-

¹ Plat. Phæd., sects. 118, 119; Eus. Præp. Ev. (553), Lib. XI, 27 to 38, from (568) Georgias, near the end, sects. 164, 168.

tarus. But they who have committed the worst unrighteousness, and on account of such unrighteousness can not be healed any more,—of these examples are made. These can not, indeed, any longer be helped who are incurable, but they help those who see them, when they see them, for their very great sins suffering most painful and frightful sufferings forever."

All this was borrowed from Egypt, as different points show, though made up into Grecian philosophy; as in other parts we find him stating the Egyptian doctrine of the transmigration of souls, accompanied with another doctrine greatly taught afterwards, that the soul existed before and came down to dwell in the body,—two natures making up one person, as will be found in the places I have quoted from. But, though in a heathen form, we have the Roman doctrine of saints who go to Heaven, the wicked to Hell, and a middle class to Purgatory. So Virgil,¹ when *Æneas* goes down to Hades, he is told by them in Purgatory: "When life leaves with the last light [of day], not yet is every evil over to the unhappy, nor all corporeal infection² wholly gone; and it is altogether necessary that many things should have grown up as part of ourselves in wonderful ways,³ therefore they are exercised with penal torments, and pay the penalty of old evils." And then he speaks of different punishments before they go to Elysium.⁴ And further, in the *Odyssey*,

¹ In Dante's "Inferno," Virgil is made to be the poet's "guardian spirit" through the visit.

² Or evils; but Platonic doctrine makes the text, I doubt not, right.

³ This is also Platonic, and the same is found just before the passage I have quoted from Eusebius.

⁴ But here, again, there is the Egyptian doctrine of transmigration. This Christianity made them to suppress; the rest they retained.

souls complain that sacrifices have not been offered for them, to get them out of this place. Plato teaches the pre-existence of the soul (*Phædo* 223) and transmigration. Only true saints, who had kept alone from every snare of corporate existence, went, it is suggested, to God. So did Pythagoras. Philo, the Jew, held the pre-existence of the soul, as Plato, and that the air is full of daimonions up to the moon; and the lower or inferior class were disposed to be earthly and come into bodies. This came from Indian or Egyptian heathenism. And the great early doctors of the Church,—Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria,—were educated in Platonism. Origen,¹ too, embraced the whole system—transmigration and the renewal of the whole series of the soul's history in another earth. Jerome and Ruffinus (Latins), and, even in part, Ambrose followed Origen in a good deal, as did Gregory Nyssa and many others in the East. Origen was followed and defended till the fifth general council. Jerome and Augustine, who hesitated about it all, led in the notions of the Western Church. Augustine was a very bad man, and, undoubtedly, became a truly great man; but Jerome, saint though he be called, had an awful and unsubdued temper, and was abusive and revengeful to the last degree. However, he was a saint for Rome.

The doctrine of Purgatory had now come in, and soon after, the dark ages, when wickedness, and corruption, and superstition were at their height. They had to make some other way of clearing themselves, and hence penances, and indulgences, and Purgatory. The early, learned Fathers, who imprinted the character of their doctrines

¹ These are the conclusions that Origen came to; for agreement between the Fathers is the most ridiculous thing in the world to talk of.

on the Church, lived at Alexandria. There was the great Christian Catechetical school, and the principal of these Fathers were its masters, as Clement and Origen; and through these this mixture of Platonism and Judaism flowed into the Church. Plato holds that the flesh is an evil part of the nature, which infects the soul, and that if it has wholly given itself up to vice, it would be given up to punishment for the advantage of others, as an example; if not, but still any had not kept themselves free, they would be punished in Hades for a certain time, proportioned to their unpurged stains; that there were two instruments for the health of the body,—exercise [gymnastics] and medicine,—and if the first was not sufficient, the other was to be applied; that the spots of the soul were like the colors after a wound when completely well; the soul, at the end of its purification and punishment, would be rendered splendid and spotless. That is simply Purgatory. Virgil enlarges a little on it: Besides the torments of Hell, he states the same process of punishment and purification; but he does not quite finish them off then: he sends them to Elysium (a place of blessedness), and then, after a length of time, the hardened spots are wholly gone, and the ethereal soul is left quite pure. Other fictions were added; the souls, quite pure, according to Plato, went off to the stars, according to their qualities, for they held the stars to be living beings. Hades was placed by them under the earth, and so by Romanists. This doctrine of Purgatory was connected with the famous mysteries of Eleusis. It was signified in the rites (says Plato) that he who was not initiated, and the unperfected in them, would go to Hades and lie in mire; but that the purified and the perfected person, when he departed, would dwell with the Gods.

So they held that there were those who answered to the Romish saints—the heroes who went to Heaven at once and were eternally happy.

The real source of Purgatory is heathenism and Judaism, which were associated at Alexandria, where the first great doctors of the Church lived. At first it took the shape of purifying all completely in eternal fire; but that was not generally accepted. It then took the form of prayer for all, and apportioned to all some punishment, at the least the punishment of loss,—not seeing God; or at any rate, were uncertain, and prayed for all, even for the Virgin Mary, with a view to their speedily seeing the face of God. But the idea of the purging process survived through, and in Augustine's time was a question as to which he doubted,—Jerome speaking with such uncertainty, that he is accused of denying eternal punishment. This was in the Fifth century. In the end of the Sixth century, Gregory specifies the purifying very light sins. With schoolmen it was, like other things, formed into an elaborate system; but all this was only in Western Christendom. Greek or Eastern Christendom has never received the doctrine of Purgatory. It is the great doctrine of Romanism in connection with the Mass. It is to get people out of it that Masses are constantly said. The poverty of the system is shown, that after the use of all the means the Roman system has at its disposal (Absolution, the Viaticum, and Extreme Unction, which wipes off the remains of sin), the faithful have to go to Purgatory to get these remains of sin burned out of them.

CHAPTER IV.

HOLINESS—SAINTS AND MIRACLES.

ERE I am on painful and dangerous ground, and I feel both the painfulness and the danger. But with the pretensions which are current, and the deceitful statements of morbid imaginations as to the Holiness of the Romish body, it becomes necessary that those likely to be deceived should know the truth. Not only is "*corruptio optimi pessima corruptio,*" but the corruption of Rome was in itself worse than any corruption that ever existed. As the imagination of Roman Catholics is filled with an idea of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, it is needful to turn to facts, that we may know that what is called the Catholic Church was the unholiest thing in the world; that it had extinguished the truth, put to death the saints, and corrupted morals till it became intolerable. It will be alleged that there was always individual sanctity. Now, that there were God's hidden ones in all times is not to be doubted for a moment. Still, it is beyond all question, that the universal unholiness of the professing Church, and the idolatry prevalent in Christendom, exposed those whose consciences were oppressed by what was all around them to fall into the snares laid for them by a corrupt Church. The effect of this was, that Christendom was composed of: first, unholy, iniquitous, and persecuting

orthodoxy (a few souls groaning under the state of things, such as St. Bernard, who said, all that remained was for Anti-Christ to come, and others, that he was born already at Rome); secondly, of a vast number (for they filled the country from Asia to Spain) who had fallen into Manichean notions, and sought holiness by judging all matter as itself unholy, but whose devoted and blameless walk won the confidence of the population, till they were put down by fire and sword; and thirdly, of a number whose doctrines it is hard to discover, whose constancy and blameless walk astonished conscientious men; and lastly, of others who were counted only schismatics, whose only fault was that they could not own the corruption which reigned around them. One class or another of these was spread all over Europe. It is a sad history, for they were all hunted as wild beasts all over the country, burned and tortured, and it is often hard to ascertain what they really did hold.

The Inquisition was invented to put them down. Of one large class, the Albigenses and the Waldenses (of whom the former were, as to their leaders at any rate, more or less Manichean), the judgments at Toulouse may be found in the end of Limborch's History of the Inquisition.¹ There were those inside and outside the Romish

¹ The Records of the Inquisition of Toulouse were published by Limborch. The history of the Albigenses is full of interest. A man, escaped from the Saracens, gave the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul to a man who gave him hospitality. A very great awakening took place, and many companies of saints were gathered. The Eastern Emperors attacked them, and unhappily they took arms, and for long years they withstood the Greeks, but retreating into Persia it seems they got infected with Manicheism, which joined with them in rejecting images and superstition. At last, the Emperor made peace with them, and transported them to Bulgaria, as a check against the

body who sighed and groaned over the abominations that were committed. It is evident by the sentences pronounced by the Inquisition itself, that the Waldenses were only schismatics. There were many of whom no certain judgment can be formed, as may be seen by the letter of Everonius of Cologne to Bernard. Those who went to England, led by a certain Gerard, were, says William of Neuberg, sound in substance as to the Supreme Physician, but rejected Roman superstitions as to the Sacraments.¹ The state of professing Christendom was such that it gave occasion for convulsive efforts for good, and for evil under protest of good. Waldo sought what was good; and somewhat later, such men as Gerard Groot, Thomas à-Kempis, and the *fratres vitæ communis*; even Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome; and, on the other hand, there were the Brethren of the Free Spirit, who were very bad; Beghards, Beguines, Lollards, whose real character it is often hard to determine.

But all these (generally persecuted indeed, were they good or evil, if not subject to Rome) did not alter the general state of Christendom, which had in every way

Northern hordes. Thence they spread through Lombardy to Spain. There were two classes, the Albanenses and the Baioli. The former held two principles, a good and an evil one; the Baioli not.

¹ This all of them were accused of. In a general way they were accused of denying marriage. But it is plain that it was only the Romish sacrament as to it, which they denied, for their wives and widows were spoken of. As those who went to and perished in England, were Germans, and were pronounced sound in faith, probably those at Cologne, and in Germany elsewhere, were also. But it is quite possible some, in breaking loose from the horrible iniquities and superstitions of Rome and Romanists, may have been misled in some points, too, by heresy. Everonius' letter is interesting; there is heart and conscience in it, though he saw them all burnt.

become intolerable, though nobody knew how to mend it. The shameless corruptions of Rome are written on every page of history. Wycliffe and Huss denounced the state of things, and Wessal was put in prison. The Roman Church refused their testimony to the evil, however notoriously true; Huss was burnt for his pains, by the Council of Constance, after it had pledged its faith to him, because faith was not to be kept with heretics; and Wycliffe, defended during his life by the Duke of Lancaster, had his bones dug up and cast away. There were saints found outside of Rome who were generally persecuted. The truest saints were hunted down on every side, then burned by Rome's prelates and Inquisition for the truth they held, giving their lives rather than give it up. And as to the kind of saints found in the Roman Church,—those canonized by men,—the Greek Church have a full complement of them, and some of them as far from sanctity as need be, and those among the most famous, too, as St. Cyril, a most violent and unprincipled man; St. Jerome, the bitterest and most unforgiving and abusive; others, as Cyprian, independent of and opposed to Rome; or Augustine, who led the way in an African council in excommunicating all who appealed to Rome after they had decided any thing in Africa.

Rome's pretension to have all the saints may do very well for ignorant people, who know nothing about the matter, but will not do for those who do. If a calendar is a proof, the Greeks have about as full a one as Rome. I do not know if they have St. Veronica. It is a curious history. There was a story, as there are many such, that some woman gave a handkerchief to wipe the face of the blessed Lord on His way to Calvary; and, as a reward, His likeness was imprinted on it. This was copied and

sold everywhere in Italy. The word “Veronica” is a corruption of true likeness, and then was taken to be the name of a woman. And she is in the calendar, and worshipped as such; and the handkerchief exposed to the worship of the multitude at St. Peter’s at Rome.¹

MIRACLES—A WITNESS OF HOLINESS.

Miracles are regarded in the Roman Church as historical characteristics of holiness. First as to Martin of Tours, the Apostle of Gaul. He lay on ashes, as he was, for his bed, and covered with a sack and the like; and when he put his foot out of the cell, to go a couple of miles to church, all those possessed with devils in the church showed he was coming, though in different ways, so that the clergy learned thus he was coming. “I saw [I quote from Sulp. Sev., Dialogues, III, 6] one caught up in the air as Martin was coming. Suspended on high, with his hands stretched out, his feet unable to touch the ground, Martin prayed, prostrate in sackcloth and ashes. Then you might see the unhappy men cleansed by their going out in different ways; these, their feet being carried up on high, hang as if from a cloud, and yet their garments not fall down over their face, lest the naked part of their bodies should put people to shame.” So in Egypt. Two friends went to see one of the anchorites. An enormous lioness came and sought him, and they all followed her. She took them to a cave, and they saw what was the matter: five cubs were all blind. The anchorite stroked

¹“Pope Urban erected a statue of the supposed Veronica, and an altar. The superstition is a late one. Mabillon puts the scene in Gethsemane; and Ducange, on the way to Calvary. In 1083 it was alleged to have cured the Emperor Tiberius of leprosy. It is now an object of gorgeous worship at Rome.”—*Maitland, Catacombs*, 260.

their eyes, and they saw. Soon after, the lioness brought a skin of some rare wild beast [how acquired we do not learn] to the anchorite, and he took it and wore it.

Another lived up in Mount Sinai, naked; and when last seen, he said: "He who was visited by men, could not be by angels." Martin came to a martyr altar, consecrated by bishops, and frequented by the pious. He suspected, as old priests could not tell whose it really was, and then saw a sordid, fierce ghost on his left. He commanded him to tell his name and deserts; and he confessed he was a thief, and no martyr; he in punishment, and the martyr in glory. He met a crowd, which he supposed to be an idolatrous procession with an image. It was really a funeral. At some distance, he lifted up the cross and commanded them to stop and lay down their burden. They could not move, with all their efforts, and at last rolled round with a ridiculous vertigo, and laid down their burden. Finding that it was a funeral, he lifted up his hand and gave them the power of going away and taking the body. This is astonishingly like mesmerism.¹ Martin met a furious cow that had gored several persons. She was rushing at him. He told her to stand, and she did; and then saw a devil on her back, and ordered him off; and he went, and the cow was quiet. Nor was that all. The cow knew very well what had happened, and came and knelt down before Martin; then, on Martin's order, went and found the herd. He was most familiar with demons; knew when it was Jupiter, when Mercury, who was the most trouble-

¹ It is related by a Roman Catholic eye-witness, Mr. Huc, that a great tree, said to spring from the hair of Tsougkaba, a Buddhist saint, bears Thibetan characters on every leaf, and no fraud in it.—*Voyage dans le Thibet, Vol. II, Chap. 3.*

some of all, and specially when he had the saints with him. When Sulpicius Severus went to see him all was harmony, and Martin was talking, and women's voices within, for two hours, while Sulpicius and Gallus were outside. This turned out, as he told them after he came out covered with ashes and filth, to be Agnes, Thecla, and Mary (deceased persons held to be saints). Then all of a sudden a whole lot of devils came, Martin denouncing them by their names. Jove, he said, was a brute and stupid (*brutum et habetum*). They beset his dying bed. "Why are you standing there, bloody beast?" he said. "Thou shall find nothing, O fatal one, in me; the bosom of Abraham has received me," and so expired. Yet he had promised pardon to the devil if he repented. The devil was accusing some monks who had sinned after baptism. Martin replied that crimes were purged by the conversation of a better life, and God would pardon; and then said to the devil, if he, as judgment was near, even then left off following after men, and repented of his deeds, he himself trusting in the Lord, promised him the mercy of Christ. I might multiply stories; but this, surely, is enough. He died in 402, or thereabouts. When he dined with the emperor, he gave the cup to the presbyter first, as superior to him. Such was the holiness of this ascetic worker of miracles.

I may mention another, as showing the character of the miracles and the credulity of men's minds when once this system was given in to. Paulinus,—the same that complains of their mixing drunkenness with their celebration of his patron saint, St. Felix,—relates that a countryman had two capital bullocks; they were stolen; the countryman sought them in vain; no marks were to be found where they had been driven. He goes to the

said St. Felix, pleads with him to send the bullocks back; that he had trusted him, he really had kept his bullocks, and he was answerable for them; that, as he kept them, he should hold him for being in league with the robber, if he did not bring them back; that he saw and knew all things, and, therefore, could do it, for he knew where they were. He might pardon the robbers, but he must have the bullocks; the pardon belonged to the saint, but the bullocks to himself; he would not go after them, nor leave the place; he would give up his life on the threshold if he did not bring them back; and so spent the whole day praying. The martyr heard him joyfully, and laughed with the Lord at his reproaches. He helps him. He is thrust away from the face of Felix to shut the doors at night, and goes and lies down in his stable, crying still on the saint; and frightened by a noise outside, there are the oxen come home without a guide. It may be said this is only the credulity of a rustic; but the account is of Paulinus of Nola,—a saint, a prelate, and a correspondent of the famous Augustine. This was the kind of sanctity now introduced. Paulinus' was specially shown in honoring St. Felix. He had festivals in honor of his saint. But this change to honoring saints instead of heathen demigods, thus systematically established, did not change the habits. He deplores the votaries' honoring the saints with drinking bouts. *Verum utinam sanis agerant hoc gaudia votis, nec sua luminibus miscerant pocula sanctis.*¹ He covered St. Felix's house with holy pictures,

¹ However, he thinks such joys are to be pardoned, as error creeps into rude minds; nor conscious of so great a fault, fails in piety in fancying amiss the saint's delight in it. (1.) *Ignoscendo tamen puto talia parvis.* (2.) *Gaudia quæ ducunt epulis, quia mentibus error.* (3.) *Irrexit rudibus, nec tantæ consciæ culpæ.* (4.) *Simplicitas pietate*

that the gaper may drink in sobriety,—forget too much wine. He implores the aid of St. Felix directly, not even his intercession, for sickness and a bad eye; he calls himself “him that is thine”; he seems to make the saints particularly efficacious wherever a part of their body was.

It has been remarked by some one, that up to 350 the heathen ridiculed the Christians for worshipping a dead man; after that, for worshipping saints' and martyrs' tombs; and Augustine tells us that, above all, the monks drove a lively trade in relics. Within a few years, it was alleged that the Virgin had visited a little peasant girl on a mountain in France. The local prelate issued a pastoral against it, but it was attractive. The government took it up and proved the fraud in open court; but then the wind turned round, and Church authorities made a great deal of it, and pilgrimages were made there. In the first life of Ignatius Loyola, by Ribadeneyra, there was no limit of miracles;¹ but when Ignatius was to be canonized,

cadit, male credula sanctos. (5.) *Perfusis balante mero gaudere sepulcheris.* Paulinus does not approve of this system of holiness; but it was common, and the system which gave rise to it was approved by Rome, as a system. In the well-known letter to Mellitus, Gregory I desires Augustine not to pull down the temples, if well built, but to sprinkle them with holy water, put relics of saints in them, and as they were accustomed to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifice of demons, the solemnity was to be changed somewhat.

¹ It is a curious piece of Roman sign-making, and shows what these things are really worth. In Ribadeneyra, the disciple and companion of Ignatius himself, we find a long proof in the objection that he did no miracles; that they were not to be as proofs. He quotes Gregory, saying the proof of sanctity is not in doing signs. Augustine, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen and Nyssa, and Athanasius wrought no miracles. All these are reasons for Ignatius not doing

the account of his life was full of them. Among the rest he raised a hen, accidentally drowned, to life, Xavier invoking him in India, and he remained in absolute celibacy ever after; and Xavier routed a great army by his presence. Francis Xavier, being a self-sacrificing man, his life only proves the evil of the system he was in. He carried on his work by the force of the arms of the Portuguese. One of his miracles was Ignatius' miraculous appearance in India, leading the troops and routing the infidels. The first multitude whom he is said to have converted already called themselves Christians, but had been made so by the arms of the Portuguese, without knowing a word of what it meant. They did not understand a word of the Portuguese, nor the Portuguese them. Xavier got some who knew his and their language a little, and translated the creed, the commandments, Lord's prayer, and a supplication to the Virgin; learned them by heart (though subsequent statements give him the gift of tongues), himself, made them repeat them, and say, "Lord, give me to believe," and then a short word to the Virgin, and then, as sufficiently tested, baptized them. It went so far, both in the conduct and relapses of the converts, that Ignatius himself was dissatisfied. He wrote: "Sometimes I baptize a whole city in a day. Much of this success is to be attributed to the Viceroy of India. By his endeavor we have now thirty cities of Christians on this coast. He has lately given 4,000 pieces of gold to those any. Two hundred well proved ones were produced for his beatification, as is stated by the *Pere Bonhours*. It is a striking thing that, whatever was the reason, Ignatius died without the Sacraments. It is asserted that he died in terror; but it is certain that he died without the Sacraments.

who, with all diligence, profess the truth in the cities of the Christians." Xavier promoted in the same way the Viceroy's efforts, organizing expeditions, and enforcing the Christians to behold Jesus Christ crucified before their eyes during the battle. And he announced far away from the scene: "Jesus Christ has conquered for us; the enemy is routed with very great slaughter." But he left India in a few years disgusted, and avowing himself useless, went to Japan.

Now as to some of the miraculous events: One night, as he was praying to the Virgin, the devils attacked him in crowds, and beat him so that he was half dead with the blows, and forced to keep his bed for some days. Ignatius Loyola himself is stated to have been horribly beaten by devils so as to cry out, and another ran in twice to see what was the matter, and then was forbid to come. Xavier spoke so that in one sentence people of ten languages understood him, all at the same time. He sprinkled holy water on them and ordered them to leave and never come back, and so it was. On a voyage a child fell into the sea. Xavier asked the Mohammedian father if he would believe if his child were restored. He said yes. Three days after, the child appeared on the deck. Neither he nor any one knew whence he came. Again, he gave a chaplet of the Virgin Mary to an infidel. The ship was wrecked, and they made a raft; he thought himself with Xavier, as in ecstasy; and when he recovered his natural sense, found himself safe on shore and all his companions lost. It is said he raised the dead several times. It is stated he spoke with tongues; but it is quite certain, both in India and Japan, by his own statement, that he used interpreters to begin

his work. His conversions were really none.¹ He converted a whole island and built churches, in some years, and left; when gone, through the influence of the chief of another island, the churches were pulled down, and all turned idolaters again. The Portuguese sent an expedition, and they all turned Christians again. That he was a man of indomitable energy and rare courage, is unquestionable. But all his work in India and Japan, and in general that of the Jesuits there and in Abyssinia, have come to nothing. Where European dominion has been established, the Roman Catholic system has continued, as in Brazil and similar countries.

This is the kind of holiness that the Roman Church has produced. It is impossible to have a more eloquent description of Romish holiness than the efforts to keep Jerome's name among the saints. He sought to overcome his nature, there is no doubt. He fasted excessively, lived in grime and filth, did every thing possible to subdue flesh by flesh's efforts, but nature is not overcome thus. Roman Catholics declare that he was very little exact in stating things as they were, following more his own ideas than the truth. These, however, they say, are only the defects of a great genius. But he did not weigh what he said, and, what is to be more regretted, attacked St. Chrysostom; indeed, whoever he found as an adversary was the basest of men; he had too great an

¹ In writing to Francis Henry, a missionary desponding in the work, and thinking of leaving: "You profit more than you think in preparing infants, diligently obtained, for heaven by baptism; for if you are willing to look round in your mind, you will find that out of the Indians, white or black, few come into heaven but those who depart this life under fourteen years of age, in the innocence of baptism."—*Epist. II, 24.*

idea of his eloquence, shows it, was jealous and envious, so as to wound his greatest friends and alienate them. It is hard not to recognize that he had in his natural character a sourness and bitterness which pained many. He was soon on fire when offended, and did not easily pardon. Are we to say, they ask, if so many saints who have admired him, and the Church who honors him amongst its saints and doctors, have been deluded, a humble son of the Church can not say that St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, are excellent models of a perfect virtue to animate us to imitate them? But others have had great sins, as David. We may say, even, that the defects of Jerome are useful, as teaching us what the substance (*le fond*) of virtue and Christian piety is. For if it consisted in an even and uniform life, in which few faults are committed, one would have to prefer Rufenius to him. But the Church leaves him to God's judgment, and has always had the greatest respect for Jerome. Not the services he has rendered the Church by his labors (he corrected the translation of the Scriptures); these are not virtues. Catholic historians can see that in his case his austerities would not do. Doubtless, he says, they were useful to him (which his own account, by the by, does not show, though I do not question their sincerity in seeking to maintain incorruptness in celibacy, which he held the highest of virtues); yet, if we had nothing else to praise in him, we should have reason to fear they had rendered him proud, and had been the cause of that severe and critical spirit which some have blamed in him. They then show what they think proof of what constitutes a saint: First, his love of his solitary life and poverty, though he could have enjoyed the favor of Pope Damasus and the wealth of Saint Marcella

and Saint Paula, two rich women who admired him greatly; and his fleeing those who honored him, humility which was shown in not exercising the functions of priest for which he had been brought up; his eleemosynary charity and laborious service for others, when he might have been glad to be writing; they like his anger against his heretical adversaries, and his conduct in exalting St. Augustine, when he might have seemed a conspirator, the more so as he had quarreled with him. Jerome's language, particularly against those who deprecated monkish sanctity, saint and image worship, was regular billingsgate; for that is really the only word to describe it by. The Church makes a saint of him in these words: "The Scripture does not call him alone happy who is without spot and does not sin; but, moreover, him to whom God does not impute sin, because he hates it by a pure and sincere love of righteousness, and that he covers it by the nuptial robe of Charity, which covers a multitude of sins."

Another painful question may be asked: Why bring all this failure up, if things are changed? Is there such vice now? Has the Romish body the "vote of holiness"? The facts are every thing. It certainly has not. There is no doubt that the light and spiritual energy of the Reformation caused a certain amelioration in Rome; but I still must say, that where the action is not decidedly felt, it is not changed. Mr. Froude, whose hard-riding imagination had made a picture of mediæval holiness, was checked by the degeneracy he found in Italy. We have seen what they degenerated from. I have known a good deal by personal experience in several countries, and a good deal more by that of others; and I believe that in principle and practice there is no change, though there

may be more concealment. It is thought infidelity is found among Protestants especially. It is a mistake; more, I believe, in the bosom of what is called Catholicism; but not published, as among those called Protestants. Go to France and Italy, and see the state of men, in towns especially.

THE CONFESSORIAL.

Auricular confession, so far as the priests are concerned, has three objects in view, viz: First, money; second, secret information; and third, a substitute for matrimony. The first is a great source of revenue to the Church, by which the contributions of one hundred and ninety millions are poured into the common treasury. It is very largely through the Confessional that marble cathedrals are built, costly altars erected, expensive robes provided, and the vast resources of the papal system increased annually almost beyond conception. Millions and millions of dollars are received at Confession every year for Indulgences, Extreme Unction, Baptisms, and Absolutions from sin.

Then, secondly, it is a means of obtaining a knowledge of the secrets of employes and employers, parents and children, husbands and wives, rulers, citizens, and political parties. Here lies the secret of the power possessed by the Roman hierarchy over every department of national, state, and municipal governments. It becomes a secret detective bureau in any great crisis of national election, managing caucuses, influencing congress, and paralyzing Protestant agencies. There is no privacy of the home no matter how sacred, and no thought or desire of the soul ever so delicate or shameful, but what must be confessed to the priest. And in giving the penitent

absolution, the confessor has power to make sins virtues and virtues sins. The six thousand priests hear the confession of about every sixth woman, wife, and daughter in the country. They confess to them the secrets of their own hearts, the secrets of their families, their husbands' secrets, and their own secret desires, loves, hopes, and fears.

And then again, thirdly, the Confessional makes it easier for the priestly confessor to love without entering into the relation of a legally married life. He has absolutely in his power the female penitent, her intellect, conscience, and affection. He has a right to say whatever he sees fit to her, or require her to do, however wicked and abominable in itself. He has command of her fortune, her husband's fortune, and she loves and reveres him, though he may be base and vile, because she thinks he can forgive her sins or make them virtues. When she has much to confess, and is very devotional, and he has much to hear and forgive, the intimacy is necessarily very close. It sometimes happens, oftener than is known, that he discovers that the relationship between her and her husband is not the true relationship of husband and wife, and the wickedness and sin which are possible to a priest holding so dangerous a power over superstitious women is enough to make any man shudder at the bare suggestion. Should the real state of things by possibility become known to the husband, he may be too good a Romanist to make a public scandal. If he should complain to the bishop of the conduct of the priest whose zeal for the holy Catholic Church has been so great, the priest would be removed to another parish. According to Pascal and Chiniquy, very few if any cases of excommunication for immorality can be found. Should

the pious penitent, whose earnest devotion has so often melted into love and tears in the sanctuary of the Confessional at the feet of her divine confessor, happen to be an attractive, young, unmarried woman, the result would be the same, minus the complications of a husband and family, and the orphan asylum, for which the black-robed sisters beg so assiduously, instead of the husband, would take the care and education of the children, and the pious penitent would go to a nunnery, or be promoted as mistress of a bishop, perhaps, and be supported at the expense of the irresponsible treasury of the Church on the proceeds of the Confessional.

Father Chiniquy gives cases of this kind exactly. He says: "I solemnly in the presence of God, who ere long will judge me, give my testimony on this grave subject. After twenty-five years' experience at the Confessional, I declare that the confessor himself encounters more terrible dangers when hearing the confessions of refined and highly educated ladies than when listening to those of the humbler class of his female penitents." In this solemn manner he gives the confession of a dying priest, and says: "That the number of married and unmarried females the dying priest had heard in the Confessional was about fifteen hundred, of whom he said he had destroyed or scandalized at least one thousand by his questioning them on most depraved things, for the simple pleasure of gratifying his own corrupted heart, without letting them know any thing of his sinful thoughts and criminal desires towards them. But he confessed that he had destroyed the purity of ninety-five of those penitents, who had consented to sin with him." Of the Irish Romanists he says: "Why is it that the Irish Roman Catholic people are so irremediably degraded and clothed in rags?

The principal reason is the enslaving of the Irish women by means of the Confessional. Every one knows that the spiritual slavery and degradation of the Irish woman has no bounds. After she has been enslaved and degraded, she in turn has enslaved and degraded her husband and sons. Ireland will be an object of pity; she will be poor, miserable, riotous, blood-thirsty, degraded, so long as she is ruled by the father confessor planted in every parish by the Pope."

At the Confessional Romanism clutches brain and conscience, and utilizes the piety, passions, and pocket of the penitent to build up and keep up, from century to century, its system of power and crime. It subjugates and enslaves woman, the mother of men. It corrupts the source of life. It insures the transmission of slavish submission and degradation from mother to sons and daughters; and thus pulls down and holds down to its low level a race, from generation to generation, by degrading the mothers of the race. The generations of conquered, enslaved, subjugated, imbecile women of Catholic Spain, Italy, Ireland, and South America have made the Catholic men of those countries what they are, cringing, degraded, poverty-cursed slaves. And so of every other country where Romanism has had sway. This has been the natural hereditary result. It could not be otherwise. A stream can not rise higher than its fountain. One-sixth of the women in the United States attend the Confessional. Rome expects to conquer the republic at the Confessional, by the triumph of the priest over the women. See as authorities, "Pope or President?" Denis' "Moral Theology," Vol. VI., p. 123. Liguori, Vol. II., p. 464, "Gavin on the Popish Church," Rankin's "History of Popes," "Egaris' Variations," Dowling's "History of

Romanism," and Father Chiniquy's "The Priest, The Woman, and The Confessional." In Peter Denis' "Theology," the doctrine is distinctly laid down, that a priest may be a libertine without forfeiting his priestly office, even if the fact should become known. (See Denis, Tome V., p. 287.) The author of the "Pope or President" gives pages of facts and examples from the history of Romanism to show that practically Denis' morality is still that of the Roman Church.

I will now give quotations in Latin, taken from Roman Catholic authorities, for the direction of confessors on what matters to question their penitents.

Denis, a distinguished Roman Catholic theologian and casuist, wants confessors to question their penitents on the following matters:¹—

1. "Peccant uxores, quæ susceptum viri semen ejiciunt vel ejicere conantur."—*Vol. VII, p. 147.*

2. "Peccant conjuges mortaliter, si, copulâ inceptâ, cohibeant seminationem.

3. "Si vir jam seminaverit, dubium fit an semina lethaliter peccat, si se retrahat a seminando; aut peccat lethaliter vir non expectando seminationem uxoris."—*Vol. VII, p. 153.*

4. "Peccant conjuges inter se circa actum conjugalom. Debet servari modus, sivi situs; imo ut non servetur debitum vas, sed copula habeatur in vase præpostero, aliquo non naturali. Si fiat accedendo a postero, a latere, stando, sedendo, si vir sit succumbens."—*Vol. VII, p. 166.*

5. "Impotentia est incapacitas perficiendi, copulum carnalem perfectam cum seminatione viri in vase debito seu, de se, aptam generationi. Vel, ut si mulier sit nimis arcta respectu unius viri, non respectu alterius."—*Vol. VII, p. 273.*

6. "Notatur quod pollutio in mulieribus possit perfici, ita uta semen earum non effluat extra membrum genitale. Judicium istius allegat Billuart, si scilicet mulier sensiat seminis resolutionem

¹ The English translation will be supplied to any responsible person on receipt of five dollars.

cum magno voluptatis sensu, qua completâ, passio satiatur."—*Vol. IV, p. 168.*

7. "Uxor se accusans, in confessione, quod negaverit debitum, interrogetur an ex pleno rigore juris sui id petiverit."—*Vol. VII, p. 168.*

8. "Confessor poenitentem, qui confitetur se pecasse cum sacerdote, vel solicitatam ab eo ad turpia, potest interrogare utrum ille sacerdos sit ejus confessarius, an in confessione solitaverit."—*Vol. VI, p. 294.*

St. Liguori.—Other points for examination in the Confessional.

1. "Quærat an sit semper mortale, si vir imitat pudenda in os uxoris?

"Verius affirma quia, in hoc actu ob calorem oris, adest proximum periculum pollutionis, et videtur nova species luxuriæ contra naturam, dicta irruminatio."

2. "Eodem modo, Sanchez damnat virum de mortali, qui in actu copulæ, immitteret dignitum in vas præposterum uxoris; quia, ut ait, in hoc actu adest affectus ad Sodomiam."—*Liguori, Vol. VI, p. 935.*

The Right Reverend Burchard, Bishop of Worms, composed a book of questions to be put to both sexes. The following to young men:—

1. "Fecisti solus tecum fornicationem ut quidam facere solunt; ita dico ut ipse tuum membrum virile in manum tuam acciperes, et sic duceres præputium tuum, et manu propria commoveres, ut sic, per illam delectationem semen projiceres?

2. "Fornicationem fecisti cum masculo intra coxes; ita dicto ut tuum virile membrum intra coxas alterius mitteres, et sic agitando semen funderes?

3. "Fecisti fornicationem, ut quidem facere solent, ut tuum virile membrum in lignum perforatum, aut in aliquod hujus modi mitteres, et, sic, per illiam commotionem et delectationem semen projiceres?

4. "Fecisti fornicationem contra naturam, id est, cum masculis vel animalibus coire, id est cum equo, cum vaccâ, vel asina, vel aliquo animali?"—*Vol. I, p. 136.*

Questions for women:—

1. "Fecisti quod quædem mulieres solent, quodam molimen, aut machinamentum in modum virilis membra ad mensbram tuæ voluptatis, et illud lodo verendorum tuorum aut alterius cum aliquibus ligaturis, ut fornicationem facereres cum aliis mulieribus, vel alia eodem instrumento, sive alio tecum?

2. "Fecisti quod quædem mulieres facere solent ut jam supra dicto molimine, vel alio aliquo machinamento, tu ipsa in te solam faceres fornicationem?

3. "Fecisti quod quædem mulieres facere solent, quando libidinem se vexantem exuquere volunt, quæ se conjugunt quasi coire debeant ut possint, et conjugunt invicem puerperia sua, et sic, fricando pruritum illarum extinguere desiderant?

4. "Fecisti quod quædem mulieres facere solent, ut succumberes aliquo jumento et illiud jumentum ad coitum quolibet posse ingenio, ut sic coiret tecum?"

Debrèyne's questions to young men:—

"Ad cognos cendum an usque ad pollutionem se tetigerent, quando tempore et quo fine se tetigerint; an tunc quosdam motus in corpore experti fuerint, et per quantum temporis spatium; an cessantibus tactibus, nihil insolitum et turpe accideret; an non longe majorem in compore voluptatem percepérint in fine tactuum quam in eorum principio; an tum in fine quando magnam delectationem carnalem sensuerunt, omnes motus corporis cessaverint; an non madefacti fuerint?"

Debrèyne's questions for young women:—

"Quæ sese tetegisse fatentur, an non aliquem puritum extinguere entaverint, et utrum pruritus ille cessaverit cum magnum senserint voluptatem; an tunc, ipsimet tactus cessaverint?"

The Right Reverend Kenrick, late Bishop of Boston, Mass., has the following among thousands equally bad or worse:—

"Uxor quæ, in usu matrimonii, se vertit, ut non recipiat semen, vel statim post illud acceptum surgit ut expellatur, lethaliter

peccat; sed opus non est ut diu resupina jaceat, quum matrix, brevi, semen attrahat, et mox, arctissime clandatur.”—*Vol. III,* p. 317.

“Pullæ patienti licet se vertere, et conari ut non recipiat semen, quod injuria ei immittitur; sed, exceptum, non licet expellere, quin jam possessionem pacificam habet, et haud absque injuria naturæ ejiceretur.”—*Vol. III, p. 317.*

“Conjuges senes plerumque coeunt absque culpa, licet contingat semen extra vas effundi; id enim per accidens fit ex infirmitate naturæ. Quod si veres adeo sint fractæ ut nullo sit seminandi intra vas spes, jam nequeunt jure conjugii uti.”—*Vol. III, p. 317.*

CHAPTER V.

THE PRIESTHOOD.



HE Roman priesthood became an immense system in the early centuries, by making large concessions to pagan usages. The Romans were passionately fond of festivals and processions. The Saturnalia and other feasts were at the end of December. Christmas¹ was fixed there. The Lupercalia in the end of January; it was a feast of purification. The purification of the Virgin Mary² was fixed there. St. Peter de Vinculis replaced Augustus Cæsar. Christians went to the heathen feasts, as Augustine, Chrysostom, and many others testify. They resisted, as in the case of Pope Gelasius and others; and when paganism fell and

¹ "The feast now celebrated at Christmas (the very evergreens are Pagan) was the expression of one of the worst principles of heathenism—the reproductive power of nature, celebrated at the return of the sun from the winter solstice. The Hindoos celebrate their Utтарayana at this time; have their twelve days, sending of presents, and wishing many happy returns. So the heathen Romans, so the Teutonic nations."—*Wilson's Religious Festivals of Hindoos*, II, 74.

² The influence exercised by the worship of the Virgin was the great element of force made use of by the priesthood to conquer the resistance of the last Pagans. After the Council of Ephesus, which decreed that Mary was the mother of God, we see in Sicily its eight finest Pagan temples become in a very short time churches under the invocation of the Virgin.

the populations entered in crowds, they gave them Christian festivals, so-called, to replace the heathen ones. It is the establishment of an immense system,—paganizing Christianity, first in doctrines, in Alexandria, then in ceremonies everywhere.

Gregory Nyssen, in his life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, says: “But when, with the Divine help, that tyranny had been overthrown, and peace had again accepted human life, service towards God, which lay before them, was free to every one, according to his ability; descending again to the city, and going round the whole district in a circle, he made an appendage for the people everywhere to their divine service. Having instituted the general assemblies for those who had been in the combat of faith, and as they had taken away different persons to different places, the bodies of the martyrs going round in a procession, they celebrated festivities in a yearly anniversary, holding a general assembly to the honor of the martyrs. For, indeed, this was a demonstration of his great wisdom, that, remodelling to a new life, in a mass, the whole generation of his day, set as a charioteer to nature, submitting them securely to the reins of faith and the knowledge of God,—he allowed what was subject to the yoke of faith to caper a little in enjoyment. For, perceiving that the childish and uninstructed mind of the many remained, through bodily hilarity and enjoyments, in the errors of idols; that the principal thing with them should be specially set right,—their looking to God, instead of vain objects, for worship,—he allowed them to make merry at memories [tombs or places consecrated to them] of the martyrs, and to enjoy themselves, and to celebrate festivities, that some time or other their life might be changed to what was more seemly and exact.”

It is said he left only seventeen heathen at his death. This part of the history gives the decay in doctrine and spiritual state, till on the fall of paganism its ceremonies and feasts were deliberately transferred to the Roman Church. Many went on with their heathenism. This was condemned by the hierachial authorities, but long persevered in. Gregory I condemns it in England, but directs, as Gregory Thaumaturgus did, similar feasts among the professing mass that had been brought in, to keep their fleshly minds contented.

PRIMITIVE PRIESTHOOD—SECULAR AND DRUNKEN.

Cyprian (251), when accounting for the Decian persecution, says it is only too light a chastisement (“*Exploratio potius quam persecutio videretur*”). All were devoted to increasing their patrimony. There was no devoted religion in the priests, no upright faithfulness in ministers, no piety in works, no discipline in morals; men’s beards false, women’s faces painted, eyes adulterated from what God had made them, their hair falsely colored, cunning frauds to deceive the hearts of the simple, artful deceit (*subdolæ voluntatis*) in circumventing brethren, marriage with unbelievers, prostituting to gentiles the members of Christ; not only rash swearing, but perjury, too; despising authority with haughty pretension, to speak evil with poisoned lip one’s self; mutual discord, with pertinacious hatred. Very many bishops, who should be an exhortation and example to others, despising their divinely-committed service (*divina procuratione*), make themselves agents (*procuratores*) of secular affairs, leave their See, desert the people, wandering through others’ provinces, hunt after markets for gainful traffic.—*De Lapsis*, 124. *Fell’s Oxford edition.*

Jerome (394) says: "It is shameful to have to say the priests of idols, buffoons, charioteers, harlots, receive inheritance; to the clergy and monks alone it is forbidden by law, and prohibited not by persecutors, but by Christian princes." Nor does he complain of the law, but that they should have deserved it. "The cantery is good, but now the worst is that I should need the cantery. The provisions of the law are careful and severe, and yet thus avarice is not restrained. The glory of a bishop is to provide for the wants of the poor. The disgrace of all priests is the pursuit of their own wealth. Born in a poor home, and in a rustic hut, who could scarcely satisfy my clamorous stomach with millet and the coarsest bread, I now turn up my nose at the finest flour and honey. I know the kinds and names of fishes. I am thoroughly *au fait* as to what shore shell-fish are found on. I discern the provinces birds come from, by their savor. I hear, moreover, of the base service of certain to old men and old women without children. They put the chamber-pot beside the bed, take away with their own hand the purulent matter from the stomach and phlegm of the lungs. They are full of fear at the arrival of the physician, and, with trembling lips, inquire if the patient is better; and if the old person is a little more vigorous, they are in danger, and pretending falsely joy,—the mind, inwardly, avaricious, is tortured; for they fear lest they should lose their pains, and compare the living old body to the years of Methuselah.—*Epist. ad Nepotianum I, ii: Valarsii. Ed. I, 261.*

Drunkenness, Augustine tells us, was universal. The clergy had lent themselves, he tells us, to the evil habits of heathens, continuing among Christians in order to win and keep them. He did not,—he was a godly, faithful

man,—but put it down with danger to himself (*Epp. XXII, XXIX. Ed. Ben.*). It had reigned in other places (*Epp. XXII*). He would have the Africans set an example, but at any rate they should follow it. These are his words in Letter XXIX: “But lest they who preceded us and permitted, or did not dare prohibit, the manifest crimes of the inexperienced multitude, should seem to have some opprobrium cast on them by us, I explained to them by what necessity those things had arisen in the Church [getting drunk in Church at the martyrs' festivals], namely, that when, after so many persecutions and so vehement, it would be a hindrance, when peace took place, to the crowd of gentiles desirous of coming to the Christian name; that they were accustomed to pass festal days with their idols in abundance of feasts and drunkenness, nor could easily abstain from these very pernicious and yet very ancient pleasures: it seemed to those of old that they should spare for the time this part of infirmity, and celebrate, not with like sacrilege, although with like luxury, other festal days after those which they had relinquished; that now, bound together as they were by the name of Christ, and subjected to the yoke of so great authority, salutary precepts of sobriety would be delivered to them, which, on account of the honor and fear of him who gave them, they would not be able to resist; as to which it was now time that, as those who did not dare deny their being Christians, they should begin to live according to the will of Christ, and that those things which were yielded to them that they might be Christians, they should reject, now they are so.”

Many said their fathers were good Christians, and did so. However, in that place, Augustine succeeded. But

here is a really holy man,—the great light of the West,—alleging that they had deliberately let the people be drunk in honor of the martyrs, that they might not in honor of idols.

MEDIÆVAL PRIESTHOOD—CELIBACY AND FORNICATION.

This was the primitive priesthood, ante-Nicene and post-Nicene. From this we pass gradually into the mediæval. It was a space of nine hundred years, dark—confessedly dark—for the Roman priesthood. In the end of the second and in the third century, it had become a common habit for the clergy, under pretext of purity, unmarried, to live and sleep with unmarried persons, consecrated also to celibacy as above all passion. Hermas, amongst others, alludes to it thus (the shepherd had commended him to the virgins who were there): “I said, ‘Where shall I tarry?’ They replied: ‘Thou shalt sleep with us—as a brother, not as a husband; for thou art our brother, and we are ready henceforth to dwell with thee, for thou art very dear to us.’ Howbeit, I was ashamed to continue with them. But she that seemed to be chiefest amongst them embraced me and began to kiss me, and so did the rest. When the evening came on, I would forthwith have gone home, but they withheld me, and suffered me not to depart; therefore I continued with them that night near the same tower. So they spread their linen garments on the ground, and placed me in the middle; nor did they any thing else—only prayed.”

In 953 Ratherius, Bishop of Verona and Liege, charges the clergy with universal incontinency; some being many times married, a warrior, perjurer, heretic, gambler, and drunkard. Such a shame to the whole Church could not be a rebuker of others. He says, in his *Itinerary* (*Fleury*

XII, 193), he held a synod to correct this, but the clergy kept none of the canons. The synods he held were to maintain the canons. There were bigamists, concubine-keepers, conspirators, perjurors, drunkards, usurers. The cause of the ruin of all the people, he says, is the clergy. The ignorance of the clergy was excessive. He says they must learn the three creeds, and be able to read the gospel and certain services. No one was fit to be made a bishop, or to consecrate one. They would not give up their incontinency, and counted the rest for nothing. The Italian clergy despise the canons the most, because they are the most given to impudicity, and minister to this vice by ragouts and excess of wine.

Damianus, a great friend of Hildebrand (Gregory VII), the strictest of monks, re-establisher, if not inventor, of the Flagellators (self-scourgers),—the able champion of Rome against the emperor, the reducer of Milan (till then independent) to subjection to the Pope,—given up to devotion to Mary; who gave up his cardinalate and See, to the great pain and offense of Hildebrand, out of piety,—in a book entitled “*Liber Gomorrhianus*,” the name of which betrays its import, addressed to the Pope, complains of the way in which the clergy were given up to such crimes, it being alleged they could not depose them for it, as people must have the Sacraments. They committed them, we read, with their own children—I apprehend, those who came to confession. Pope Leo approved the book. His letter of recommendation is prefixed to it. Damianus refers to canons which gave trifling penances for fornication; if even with a nun, and habitually, five years’ penances. (These canons he alleged to be forged, or of uncertain authority, though amongst the canons.) Damianus demanded the deposition of those guilty of

these things. The Pope answered, they deserved by the canons to be deposed, but out of clemency he would depose only the most immoral. On which Fleury remarks, "Which leads us to suppose that the numbers of the guilty were too great to treat them with rigor." The next Pope, Alexander II, got the book and hid it, of which Damianus complains bitterly. In the Romish Council of 1059, he wished them to take it up, but it was refused, as likely to produce scandal.—*Fleury, XII, 532 Dupin.*

Already, in 888, in two Councils (*Mogunt et Meteus, Hardouin, Vol. VI*), the clergy are forbidden to have a mother or sister in the house, though it had been allowed. In the latter case examples of vice had given occasion to it (*Con. Mog. Cap. X*). Renolf of Soissons gave like orders (889). In the Council of Aenamheuse (1009), connection with women is forbidden; but it is added (*ci*), "but it is worse that some should have two or more, and (*non nullus*) such an one, although he had sent her off whom he lately had, during her life should marry another."

In 910 and 927-941, Clugny (that is, the reformation of the monks) began. Before, in the confusion of the empire, laymen and women had the monasteries as inheritances; Abbots had their wives, as Campo, who had seven daughters and three sons, and his second, Hildebrand, and all their monks. Pope Benedict VIII (1012) rages against the licentiousness of the clergy (forbidding marriage), but more because the clergy, who were serfs, had children by free women, and the Church lost her property in serfs. Still he declares, in language which I do not transfer to these pages, the universal and open profligacy of the clergy, more shameless than the laity.

Between the years 1012 and 1014 (*Hardouin, Vol. VI*). It was at this epoch that the prohibition of the clergy to marry was rigidly enforced, and, as is known, by Hildebrand. The wives were treated as concubines by the Popes; but they were married, and openly, with ordinary solemnities very often. In England, it appears, few were not, but the kings made them pay for it (*Hard. Con. Lon. VII, 1147*). Lanfranc allowed it; later, Anselm raged against it. It shows the state of the Roman clergy, that many of the synods forbid the children born of the priests inheriting their cures. They gave them as portions even to their daughters. Pope Pascal (died 1118) ordered men on their death-beds to receive the Sacrament from them, rather than from none; and that their sons should be admitted to the priesthood in England, as almost the major part of the clergy, and the better part were in this case (*Pascal's Letter in Hard. VII, 1804-1807*). In the canon law (*Distinctio LXXXI, c. VI*) it is said that a clergyman, convicted of having begotten children in the presbytery, is to be deposed. The gloss on this is: "But it is generally said that a clergyman is not to be deposed for simple fornication, because few can be found without that sin." Later again, W. F. Picus, Lord of Mirandola, that is the nephew of the famous Pic de Mirandola, as quoted in a literal extract which I can not verify, not possessing his works, says that priests left the natural use of women, and good boys were given up to them by their parents, and when grown older, then were made priests of. I give it literally, only in Latin: "*Ab illis (sacerdotibus) etiam (prolepu'dor) fæminæ abiguntur ad eorum libidines explendas, et meritorii pueri a parentibus commendantur et condonantur his, qui ab omni corporis etiam concessa voluptate sese immaculatos custodire deberent. Hi*

postea ad sacerdotiorum gradus promoventur octatis flore transacto jam exoleti." This was an address to Pope Leo, in 1517, the year Luther began the Reformation. The literature of these ages teems with the bitterest reproaches against the clergy, as setting an example of licentious morals, brawls in taverns, unnatural crimes impossible to be quoted, increased by the doctrine of celibacy, a prohibition to marry, a measure not, however, fully carried into effect for two centuries, and long resisted in the north,—as in England, Denmark, and Sweden,—the people often insisting that the priest should have a wife.

MODERN PRIESTHOOD—THE SIMONY OF THE CLERGY.

I come now to a later state of things, when simony, or money-getting, became the general practice of the clergy. The bishops received money regularly to allow the priests to keep women. Theodoric, Archbishop of Cologne, ordered the priests to dismiss their concubines, and then took money from the priests for it. In the Council of Paris they complained that money was paid for the concubinage of the clergy,—that they were held in derision, abomination, and reproach by everybody. Just before the Council of Pisa, money was needed to support the claims of two Popes. Clemangis was rector of the University of Paris, the most famous then in the world, the correspondent of Popes and Kings, earnestly seeking the healing of the schism. This led to their using all possible means to make money,—provisions, annates, tenths, exacting in every shape and every way, giving a right to their favorites to a living. He attacks the cardinals for their pride and insolence; though drawn from the lowest ranks of the clergy, they had up to about five hundred benefices. The oppression of the bishops was

intolerable: if any ecclesiastic was put in prison for any great crime, on payment of a certain sum of money he came out as white as snow.

Then the doctrine of indulgences was a money-getting doctrine. We are told it is only the remission of the temporal punishment of sin. But if a man died with the Sacraments, he never could have any other. It was Purgatory that was feared.¹ A good Catholic has nothing else to fear; besides, the ignorant masses were not so nice as to this. The terror of sin was on their consciences, and the Roman clergy helped them to get rid of this terror by pardons bought with money. It was used to build and adorn churches: farmed out to bankers. A money-tariff was made for sins, or the commutations of them, and thousands of years of Purgatory avoided by paying money. It was a traffic of sin and security as to future sins. The Roman Church had returned to Pagan vices. Corruption had its way in Paganism. But Papal Rome systematized it and made a tariff for sin.

When St. Peter's was being finished money was raised to finish it by the sale of special indulgences. This was an old expedient, by which the piety of the ignorant had been before that imposed on; but on the occasion of finishing St. Peter's Cathedral it was resorted to with a recklessness which passed all bounds. Indulgences were issued, as to which there are very pretty theories, but which are allowances to commit sin for money. I know well it is said to be commutation of penance, and shortening consequently the duration of purgatorial pains;

¹ An Australian merchant recently bequeathed to the priests seven thousand dollars "for the deliverance of his soul from Purgatory," but the executors refused to pay the money until proof was given that his soul had been released.

but penance had taken place of the need of holiness, and as a man with the Sacraments would not go to Hell, Purgatory had taken the place of Hell, and when a man wanted to sin he got rid of the Purgatory he was afraid of by paying a sum of money; he wanted to sin, and paid so much money to do it with impunity. Guilt (*culpa*) was settled by Sacraments, so that he did not much trouble himself about it; the pains which remained, about which he did care, by money. Now, too, it was not provided for troubled sinners, but offered everywhere to bold ones who wanted to sin. Each sin had its price. The object was to get money. Grace, or holiness, or any doctrine, no matter which, was not thought of. Albert, brother of Joachim, of Brandenburg, a young, elegant, sumptuous Archbishop of Mayence, and elector, spent more than he could afford, and applied to the Pope for the farming of the indulgences; but he had paid for his pallium, or archepiscopal robe, some thirty thousand florins, and could not have it without; for the Pope wanted money, and Cardinal Pucci had suggested this means of getting it. The Fuggers were bankers of Augsburg, and Albert owed them money already; however, the affair seemed a good one, and they advanced the money for the pallium, and became bankers for the indulgence-money. A certain Tetzel, whose life it is said the Elector of Saxony had already saved, when Maximilian was going to put him in a sack and throw him into the Inn, and who had before preached indulgences with success, undertook the matter for Albert. It is stated that he declared that if a person had violated the Virgin Mary, he could give him pardon; that as soon as the money was in the box, the souls were out of Purgatory. It is certain, from his own statement, that he urged that when a man had

pardon (plenary remission, says the instruction) for his sins on confession and contrition, which he got on confessing them, or undertaking to do it, still for mortal sin there was seven years' penance on earth; and men committed countless ones, and God knew how long they would be in Purgatory; and that, save for four cases reserved to the Pope, he could give pardon for every thing now, at any time on confession,¹ and plenary at the hour of death, so that they would slip Purgatory altogether for a small sum. As to condemnation, the confession, contrition, and absolution, had put all that out of the question.

The Jesuit, Maimburg, does not attempt to conceal the iniquity of what was, and had been, going on. Before this indulgences had been largely used to make money—farmed out to questors, who made all the money of them they could. It was one of the charges against Pope John XXIII, giving power to his legate to appoint confessors, and free every one from sins, and all the penalty besides, if they paid what they were rated at. Still, Maimburg admits, it went on with Pope Leo all the same; that Tetzel was employed because he had got in great sums for the Teutonic Knights; that the agents made people believe they were sure of their salvation, and souls were delivered out of Purgatory as soon as the money was paid; and as they saw the clerks of these same agents carousing in taverns on their profits, much indignation was created (Maimburg's History of Lutheranism, 3d edition, 12mo., Paris, p. 9, *et seq.*). No doubt

¹ The instructions themselves to Tetzel are in Gerdes' Hist., Ev. Ren., Vol. I, document 9. These say once in life, and in the hour of death, even, for reserved cases; for others as often as need was.
—*Sec. 30.*

priests had made money of indulgences before. It was now an habitual resource; that is, religious iniquity of the profoundest kind. The sale of liberty to sin was the settled practice of the Roman Church, the authorized practice and doctrine of its priests and leaders. It will be said that Tetzel's conduct was a gross abuse. Be it so. To a rightly-constituted mind, the principle is far worse than the abuse. The priests, getting money to build or ornamant a grand church, by a universal commutation of godly discipline (if we go no farther) for money,—really for an allowance of all sorts of sin for money,—is worse than the abuses that an ignorant or reckless agent may be guilty of.

The priesthood, since the Reformation, have been very shrewd and politic, and have managed to get immense sums of money donated to them by almost every government in Europe and America. In the United States they havè accumulated a vast amount of property from the different legislatures, and have drawn thousands of dollars annually from the public treasuries of New York and St. Louis. Under the American Republic the priesthood have increased very rapidly, until there are five thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine priests, with one thousand one hundred and thirty-six students whom they are educating for the priesthood. Besides these there are one cardinal, ten archbishops, fifty-six bishops, one prefect apostolic, one abbot with the title of right reverend, six mitered abbots,—four Benedictine and one Trappist. The Eastern States have a Roman Catholic population of eight hundred and thirty-six thousand; the Southern States, eight hundred and eighty-three thousand; the Middle States, one million nine hundred and ten thousand; and the Western States, two million five hundred and fourteen thousand

two hundred and twenty-two. The priesthood have under their control twenty-four seminaries, six hundred and sixty-three colleges and academies, and two thousand two hundred and forty-six parochial schools, with four hundred and five thousand two hundred and thirty-four pupils.

During the last twenty years the priesthood have increased three thousand seven hundred and fifty-four; in population, three million eight hundred thousand; and in churches, four thousand and twenty-two, as shown in Sadler's "Catholic Directory" for 1880, by the following figures :—

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Priests.</i>	<i>Churches.</i>	<i>Population.</i>
1785	40	12	80,000
1791	50
1808	68	80
1830	232	230
1835	347	272
1840	499	454
1845	709	675	1,071,800
1850	1,081	1,073	1,433,350
1860	2,235	2,385	2,300,000
1870	3,756	3,995
1879	5,750	5,589	6,175,630
1880	5,989	6,407	6,143,222

Within these last twenty years the priesthood have secured millions of dollars of property in every part of the country, from states, cities, and private individuals.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES—366-1886.

HE absence of the emperors from Rome, and their presence at Constantinople, made the Bishop of Rome a post of great importance and political power. Its ecclesiastical jurisdiction was really comparatively small. It was respected as the See of the Capital, and had a primary rank, which Constantinople contested with it as the new capital. But Augustine, the great Western bishop, and the African Council, forbade appeals to Rome as intolerable. Already in the Fourth century intrigues for the possession of papal power became a source of public trouble. In 366, Pope Liberius died, and contests for the See began. Damasus was elected by a majority, Ursicinus by a large party, and both were consecrated Bishops of Rome. The emperor banished Ursicinus; but his partisans met in the churches they possessed, and refused communion with Damasus. The emperor took away the churches. They met outside Rome, and were banished from the country. In the dispute the parties fought for victory, and a vast number of Christians were killed, even in the churches. But the origin of the violent feud is more important than the feud itself. The Emperor Constans was an Arian persecutor. Liberius had condemned Athanasius, and communicated with the Arians. When called on to subscribe

an Arian creed, it appears he repented and recalled his condemnation. The emperor summoned a council at Arles, where the legates of Liberius signed a semi-Arian creed. Afterwards, at the Council of Milan, hesitating, he was banished, and Felix consecrated Pope by an Arian minority. Rome murmured, and Liberius was restored, after three years' exile at Beræa, but signed an Arian creed, which a synod at Sirmio had drawn up, and there were two Popes, one said to be Arian and in communion with Arians (Epictetus of Centuncellæ, and Auxentuis of Milan) who had made him Pope; the other who had signed an Arian creed against his conscience. Felix was driven out by the people, who favored Liberius, though the clergy had mainly submitted to Felix. Liberius wrote to the Eastern bishops, who had condemned Athanasius, to declare his agreement with them, and that he never agreed with Athanasius.¹ Osius, of Cordova, the president of the Council of Nice which condemned Arius, had given way to the emperor before Liberius. Felix is counted among the Popes as Felix II. Damasus was of the Felix party, and hence the riots. It is stated, that in the riots about Felix, which were very great, many were killed; that there were real massacres in baths, streets, and churches, of laity and clergy who favored Felix.

Zosimus became Pope (417). He formally approved Pelagianism. The synod at Lydda accepted Pelagius' confession of faith. Augustine and the African bishops had condemned him. Zosimus reproves them sharply. The

¹ There is some obscurity as to the history. Efforts have been made to screen Liberius, by questioning what Sirmian creed he adopted. But if we are to trust Hilary, there can be no mistake as to Arianism; nor does Tillemont nor Dupin defend him from this accusation, nor Jerome either.

African churches met (418); Pelagius was condemned and anathematized; and they add, if any one presume to appeal beyond sea, no one was to receive him into communion. There is as to what follows some conflict of dates; but a decree of the Emperor Honorius was obtained, Pelagius and Celestius banished from Rome, and Zosimus then condemned what he had approved, and cut them both off from communion. On the death of Zosimus (418), two Popes, Boniface and Eudalius, were elected. Boniface attempted to maintain his place by force. The prefect kept the peace, and reported in favor of Eudalius to the Emperor Honorius. Honorius confirmed Eudalius, and banished Boniface from the city. Boniface maintained his ground outside, and his partisans appealed to Honorius. The emperor cited both before him. The Prefect told him neither could be trusted in their statements. Difficulties arose in the decision. Honorius forbade both to go into the city, and sent a bishop for the Easter ceremonies. However, Eudalius went in; his adherents were unharmed. Boniface's adherents, who were of the populace, made a violent attack, and the prefect hardly escaped. But Honorius, glad to terminate the matter, condemned Eudalius for going in, and appointed Boniface. Eudalius was driven out of the city by force.—*Baronius' Annals*, 419.

It was about this time that the Popes alleged forged canons of the Council of Nice to maintain their authority in Africa. The African bishops had the records of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, besides their own, searched; found they were forged, and refused to submit, reproving Pope Celestine, and denying his right to send his legate. These appeals of evil persons the Popes were constantly receiving as a means of establish-

ing their authority.¹ The letter to Celestine is very strong indeed, Faustinus, the legate's mission, being wholly rejected.

Symmachus and Laurentius contended for the papacy (498). It was a violently contested matter. Both were ordained Pope the same day, and they appealed to Theoderic at Ravenna, the Gothic king, an Arian, to decide. As most were for Symmachus, he was to be Pope. He was accused of all sorts of crimes and never was cleared. There was fighting in the streets for a length of time, and many killed and wounded. The only godly man we hear of was on the other side. Symmachus made regulations to hinder these contests. In vain, however; for men will be ambitious. The clergy had in other cases sold all the Church's goods, and even the vessels of service, by auctions, for pushing their candidates, so that it had been forbidden by rescripts and laws of the senate.

Pope Vigilius (540), who was at Constantinople, had demanded the fifth general council in 553, which condemned three chapters of the fourth council at Chalcedon, (451), then objected to it, and would not assist; was exiled by the emperor, published a constitution condemning the chapters, saying that he did not condemn the Council of Chalcedon (the fourth), on whose authority they rested. The Romans wished him back. The emperor agreed, and said they might have him or Archdeacon Pelagius for Pope, or the latter after Vigilius. They wished Vigilius, and said they would take Pelagius afterwards, and the emperor let him go on his confirming the council which condemned the three chapters. He died in Sicily on the way. Pelagius, who was suspected of poisoning him, suc-

¹ Hardouin's Councils, I, 934; Prohibition to Appeal, Can., 125; Letter to Boniface, 939; and to Celestine, 947.

ceeded him, publicly declaring his innocence. Vigilius himself had climbed over the wall into the papacy, Belasaris having, by the emperor's orders, sent off Pope Silverius, who would not submit to the emperor's theology, and put in Vigilius. Silverius, however, returned. Belasaris gave him up to Vigilius, who sent him to the island of Palmaria, in guard, where he died.¹

Pelagius' own election was very uncertain. Vigilius had promised one thousand dollars to Belasaris and would not pay it. He had at first condemned the three chapters in his *judicatum*. Therefore the Roman clergy separated from him. The Africans excommunicated him. He, seeing he had condemned a general council to please the emperor, and that the clergy had turned against him, retracted; but, meanwhile, it seems the Roman clergy elected Pelagius. Then Vigilius yielded, and got in favor again, and the emperor told the Romans they might have which they liked, and Pelagius, who came back with Vigilius from Constantinople, certainly joined in ill treating him. Baronius says no day or month is named when he succeeded, and complains bitterly of all this. Vigilius had condemned the Council of Chalcedon, and written to the three other patriarchs (who were heretics according to it), anathematized the doctrines of the Council of Chalcedon, and Pope Leo, in his famous letter, adopted by it, and renounced communion with those who defended it. Baronius denies the authenticity of these letters, but Pagi and Fleury both admit they are genuine. Silverius was really murdered by want and starvation. "He died of hunger," says Fleury; and, indeed, all historians remark that Vigilius was chosen Pope when Silverius was

¹ Fleury, 537-558; Vol. VII, 356, 482; Baronius, sub. an., 538.

alive, and never afterwards. Baronius tries to get out of it by supposing Vigilius was re-elected after Silverius' death; but it is merely because it ought to be. Silverius was son of Pope Hormisdas. Vigilius ordained eighty-one bishops.

Pope Honorius (625) was condemned as a heretic by the sixth oecumenical council (680). Baronius laboriously seeks to prove that Theodoret did it, and left his own name out, and put Honorius' in; but Pagi, his annotator, has, in very few words, and by facts, shown the absurdity of his attempt. Pope Adrian II refers to it, and says heresy was the only ground for resisting thus such a superior authority. He was anathematized also by Pope Leo II.

The history of papal influence was this: when there were emperors they ruled; but the Pope's influence was growing ecclesiastically, though often resisted. When the empire fell they were the chief influence (except the Arian Goths in Italy), and did pretty freely what they pleased, increasing in power in respect of Constantinople. However, the Gothic kings confirmed them, and interfered, and were appealed to, as we have seen. When, for a time, the Eastern empire recognized Italy, the Popes were servile and submissive to the emperors; could not help it. When these were driven out again, they were oppressed by Lombards, but established in Rome by the Franks; Charlemagne, however, fully holding his own, and ruling at Rome. Powerful emperors contended for the right of confirmation of Popes and local investiture of prelates; and the history of the middle ages is the history of this conflict. The Popes raising Italy against them (Guelphs and Ghibellines), and the emperors sometimes doing as they pleased; but the German emperors

having to contend with subject princes as powerful as themselves, and jealous of them, the Pope and they coalesced against the emperors. The Popes even supported the rebellion of a son against his father, the emperor. In the time of Boniface VIII, they laid their hands on France, but this was more united, and there was a signal failure; the Pope had to give way. The next Pope had his seat at Avignon, under French influence,—the Avignon Popes and the court being degraded to the last degree. At the end they had one Pope at Rome and another at Avignon, this giving rise to the question whether the authority of a council were not superior to that of a Pope and the three councils of Pisa, Basle, Florence, Lausanne, and Constance, which so puzzle Roman Catholic theorists. There was a universal cry for reformation in head and members, always avoided.

At last came the reformation, which threw the whole power into the Pope's hand, the bishops holding only under him. And though Louis XIV maintained Gallican liberties, as they are called, yet the clergy were simple slaves to the Pope. The Jesuit society sprung up at that time more powerful than the Pope himself, and recovered Southern Germany to popery.

I should mention here the history of Pope Joan.¹ A woman who had received a learned education at Athens,² became, it is said, Pope in 855. She is said to have died in childbirth, having been taken with pains of labor in the street, going to the Lateran church; so that the

¹ Besides Joan, or Joanna, she is also called by different writers Agnes, Margaret, Isabel, Dorothy, Jutta, and Gilberta, or Gerberta.

² The papal secretary, Dietrich von Niesn (1413), professes to give the very school in which she taught, viz.: that of the Greeks, in which St. Augustine taught.

Popes never pass that way.¹ That seems unquestionable, and it is certain that the sex² of the pontiffs was examined for long years, and the story believed till the time of the Reformation—that is for many centuries. She is put by Platina, who speaks of the story as of uncertain authority, but would not omit it,³ between Leo IV and Benedict III. The circumstances of the woman-pope were published generally until 1540 or 1550; and for centuries no one ever thought of having the story expurgated from works. John Huss, when before the Council of Constance, speaks of the woman-pope,⁴ whose name was Agnes, and who was called Johannes Anglicus. Stephen de Bourbon, a French Dominican, mentions Pope Joan in 1250, and he found it in some chronicle: “*Accidit antem, mirabilis audacia, mio insana, circa ann. Ut dicitur in chronicis. Quædam mulier literata, et in arte nondi (notandi?) edocta, absunto virili habitu, et viram sefingens, venit Romam, et tam industria, quam literatura accepta, facta est notarius curiae, post diabolo procurante cardinalis, postea papa. Hæc impregnata cum ascenderet peperit. Quod cum novisset*

¹ “*Dominus Papa, quum vadit ad Lateranum, eandem viam semper declinat.*” The avoided street was, moreover, pulled down by Sixtus V, on account of its narrowness. The spot where the catastrophe was said to have taken place is between the Colosseum and St. Clement's.—H. B. S.

² According to Hemmerlin (*Dialog. de Nobil. et Rusticis*), the investigation was made by two of the clergy: “*et dum invenvientur illæsi (testiculi), clamabant tangentes alta voce; testiculos habet. Et reclamabant clerus et populus: Deo gratias.*”

³ “*Ne obstinate minimum et pertinaciter omisisse videar, quod fere omnes affirmant.*” 1460.

⁴ Huss does not think that the Roman Church has remained immaculate: “*Quomodo ergo illa Romana Ecclesia, illa Agnes, Johannes Papa cum collegio semper immaculata permanisit, qui peperit.*”

Romana justitia, ligatis pedibus ejus ad pedes equi distracta est extra urbem, et ad dimidiam leucam a populo lapidata, et ubi fuit mortua, ibi fuit sepulta, et super lapidem super ea positum scriptus est versiculus. Parce pater patrum papissæ edere partum." Martini Poloni writes (1278) that she was Pope for more than two years, became pregnant during a procession, died immediately, and was buried at once. The whole controversy is fully gone into in Basuage VII, 12, and Schrock XXII, 75-110. Baronius and Fleury pass the Joan of Platina over in a suspicious silence, and make Benedict elected on the death of Leo IV.

THE POPES AND THE ITALIAN NOBLES—887-1000.

From 887 the Popes were engaged in the strifes of the Italian nobles, when the power of the empire fell. Another circumstance has to be introduced here. A number of forged decretals were produced at this time, which formed the foundation of the Pope's pretensions subsequently,—the Isidorean collection. No doubt political circumstances were a means of the Pope's power, but their canonical pretensions leaned on these forged decretals. They declare the notable falsehood that all churches had their origin from Rome,—“*A qua omnes ecclesias principium sumisset,*”—and then go on to state its consequent rights. It is said they were written between 829 and 845, appeared at Mentz in the time of Archbishop Antcarius, and alleged to be brought from Spain at the end of the Eighth century or thereabouts. Some think they were forged by Antcarius himself, at Mentz, and that there were some old decretals which gave rise to them, or, as some allege, introduced to accredit the forgeries. At any rate, what gave legal (not political) force to papal authority

from this date was the forged Isidorean collection. It is admitted on all hands they are forgeries. They were not detected till the Reformation. Calvin stated it, and fully demonstrated it. Bellarmine says that they are ancient, but does not dare defend them as genuine; and Baronius gives them up. Hincmar combatted, in 870, the authority of the decrees, but used them, too. However, no one denies their spuriousness, but they served their purpose when wanted. They were used by Pope Nicolas I, in 864. After the death of Formosus (897), Boniface took possession of the See, and held it for fifteen days. Stephen VI (VIII 896) drove him out and took possession. He dragged Formosus out of his tomb, clothed him in pontifical robes, and put him on the throne; charged him with intrusion into the See, stripped him then of his pontifical robes, cut off the three fingers which were used to bless with, and had his body thrown into the Tiber, and re-ordained all the clergy he had ordained. Baronius says he should not dare to count him among the Popes, if he had not found it done by those of old. Stephen was put in prison and strangled. Baronius owns he had only the fact of subsequent recognition by the Church to accept such or such a Pope.

After the death of Stephen, the Roman faction having the upper hand at the time, Romanus was Pope (897) somewhat more than four months. Romanus disappeared. Theodorus was Pope twenty days (897). Benedict IV (900) succeeded, of whom nothing is known; he seems to have been a respectable man. Leo IV (903) succeeded. After forty days he was driven out and put in prison by Christopher (903). He was, after seven months, driven out, put in prison, and obliged to retire to a monastery by Sergius III (904), who was all-powerful, through Adelbert,

Marquis of Tuscany. It is to be added that these Popes undid the ordinations of their predecessors, as having no legitimate title. One Auxilius wrote a dialogue, to guard, by decrees and canonical examples, against the intestine discord of the Roman Church. The most powerful and basest harlots ruled at Rome, at whose will Sees were changed, bishops given, and, what is horrible and unutterable to hear of, their lovers were introduced into the See of Peter, who are only to be written in the catalogue of Roman pontiffs to mark such times. For who can say that persons, intruded without law in this way by harlots, can be said to be legitimate Roman pontiffs? The clergy never elected, and yet succession depends upon this!

On the death of Lando (913), Theodora, who lived with Adelbert, Marquis of Tuscany, and whose daughter Marozia was concubine of Pope Sergius III, makes John, son of Sergius and Marozia, Pope (John X). Marozia became wife of Guido, Marquis of Tuscany. She being angry with his brother Peter, had Peter killed, and John seized and put in a dungeon, where he died,—they say suffocated. The Marquis of Tuscany and Marozia made another of hers, by Pope Sergius III, Pope by the name of John XI; but Alberic (son of Adelbert, Marquis of Tuscany, by Theodora, not his wife), who ruled at Rome, put John in prison. There he remained three years, and there was no other Pope made.

In 936, Leo VII became Pope. Octavianus, son of Alberic, was a clergyman; and as he governed at Rome, made himself Pope John XII, being at the outside not eighteen years old. Though not of an age to be made bishop, or even deacon, he was owned afterwards in the succession, the clergy being supposed to consent, not to

have schism. However, the emperor, Otho, came to Rome (963) and held a council, which deposed John XII and elected Leo VIII (963). But Otho, having sent away some of his troops, the Romans rose against him and tried to kill him; but he knew it, and had the advantage; but when the emperor left Leo had to fly, and John XII was Pope again. However, being one night out of Rome with a married woman, he was caught in the act of adultery and had his head smashed, and died without the Sacraments. The Romans chose Benedict V Pope (964). Otho came and besieged them, and they were forced to give up Benedict V to him, and Leo VIII re-enters. The emperor committed Benedict V to the keeping of the Archbishop of Hamburg. The emperor held a council at Rome. Benedict appeared; owned he had sinned; was stripped of his robes, and his pastoral staff broken; he had joined in deposing John, and sworn fidelity to Leo. The next Leo was Leo IX. After Leo's death they sent to Otho to know whom he would have, and he sent ambassadors to Rome, and John XIII was chosen. He was followed by Benedict VI (972). He became odious to the Romans. Crescentius, son of Theodora and Pope John X, took him, shut him up, and afterwards strangled him while yet alive. Boniface VIII became Pope. After the death of Benedict VI they drove out Boniface, and Donus became Pope, though some do not count him among the Popes.

THE POPES AND THE GERMAN EMPERORS—1002-1300.

The German emperors now decided papal elections, and they were more respectable than the Italian nobles. In 1002 or 1003 we have John XVI (called also, and commonly, XVIII) for a few months, and then John XVII

(usually XIX). Crescentius had expelled Gregory V from Rome and made a Greek Pope. The emperor and Gregory V marched together on Rome. But some servants of the emperor, fearing his clemency (John was a favorite at court), followed, and caught the Pope, and put his eyes out, and put him in prison. Benedict VIII (1012) took the See after Sergius IV, but another party chose Gregory VI. But Benedict, being son of the Count of Tusculum, carried the day; but the party of Gregory VI raised itself, and Benedict fled to the emperor. However, Benedict was restored in less than two years. After Benedict, John, a layman not in orders at all, had the papacy. He was Benedict's brother, another son of the Count of Tusculum. He got the papacy, says Fleury, partly by money—evidently family influence, too. The Patriarch of Constantinople very nearly succeeded in buying the universal papacy of the East. The Romans drove John XIX out, but Conrad, the emperor, came with an army and set him up again; he died that year (1033). His nephew, son of Alberic, Count of Tusculum, was made Pope, a boy about twelve years old, by money also, and intrigue, too. Benedict IX (1033): his wife was infamous, and through his plunderings and murders became so odious that the people drove him out. Sylvester III became Pope, but only held it three months. But Benedict, with the Tusculum family, attacked Rome, and was reinstated. But his conduct became insupportable, and he agreed to leave for a sum of money and the papal revenue of England, to follow his pleasures freely; and they made John Gratin Pope, as Gregory VI (1044). But all three called themselves Popes. Gregory VI gave up the papacy, in a council called to settle matters, as having entered on it unlawfully,—as Benedict was paid to go out.

The number designating the Pope is constantly uncertain, because whether such or such an one was really Pope is uncertain. He who is called John XIX is also called XVII. Benedict is VIII or IX, and so Stephen. But when things are at the worst they mend. The emperor came, gathered the clergy and nobles of Rome; they agreed to have things done decently, and the emperor took up Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, and he became Clement II (1046). No fit person, it is said, was found in Rome. However, Clement II died in nine months, and Benedict IX came back and held the papacy for nine months, then, as it seems, repented and gave it up. Sylvester went back to his See. What became of Gregory I know not. The emperor sent Poppa, Bishop of Brixia, to be Pope. He lived as Damasus II (1048) twenty-three days,—said to be poisoned,—and Bruno, six months after, in a diet held at Worms, was chosen Pope. A circumstance is to be noted here. Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII, came with Bruno. The Romans had sent to the emperor and asked him to give them a Pope, through dread, it appears, of Benedict; and after his choice at Worms, Bruno (Leo IX, 1048) came in his pontifical robes. Hildebrand got him to take them off, and he again chosen at Rome. He it was who established the modern papacy. Every one who searches for himself must look to the facts,—not the title of the Pope,—as the succession is so uncertain that VIII in one is IX in the other, and sometimes, as in the Johns, there are three enumerations.

GREGORY VII.—THE FOUNDER OF MODERN PAPACY.

The buying and sale of benefices was universal even among the Popes, and immorality the most degraded. The

chase and pleasure were their occupations. On the death of Leo IX the Romans sent Hildebrand to the emperor to choose a Pope in Germany; they had no one fit in Rome. The emperor assembled a council at Mayence, and Hildebrand got them to choose Gibbard, Bishop of Eichstadt, a near relative to the emperor, who did not wish to lose him. However, he went, kept his bishopric, too, and became Pope. He was very near being poisoned by a subdeacon in the Sacrament, but could not lift the cup. They say another devil openly seized the prisoner.

Hildebrand was now the soul of the papacy at Rome. A great change took place under Nicolas II (1058). On the death of Stephen VII, the emperor who kept things in order, the Roman nobles, the Alberic family, and others, chose the Bishop of Veletri as Pope Benedict X (1058). The cardinals opposed, but he held the papacy nearly ten months; but Hildebrand got the Bishop of Florence chosen at Florence (1058). When he had arrived, the Romans sent to the emperor, who sanctioned the choice of Florence. This Pope was Nicolas II. He recognized publicly the emperor's rights, but decreed, when Pope, that the cardinals should choose the pope, thus excluding the emperor and the Roman people. This laid the foundation of the modern papacy, which was born in Hildebrand, Gregory VII. Therefore it is I have noticed this part of the history. Alexander II was the first chosen by the cardinals (1061). Another was chosen at Basle, and consecrated through Lombard influence,—Pope Honorius. He came to Rome in arms, was at first victorious, but was afterwards beaten, the German princes deserting him to weaken an infant emperor. He was deserted by his soldiers, got into the castle of St. Angelo, was be-

sieged two years by Alexander, and then fled. But Honorius never came up to his claim.

One great means of the depression of imperial power was, that the Archbishop of Cologne stole away the young emperor from his mother, who had maintained his authority, and went over to Pope Alexander's side, so that the emperor was null, though nominally saved. There was a council at Mantua, where the archbishop appeared, as did Alexander, who was charged also with simony, and Honorius. Alexander was recognized Pope, Honorius pardoned, the emperor nominally saved, and some of the German party promoted. The archbishop charged Alexander with having despised the emperor's rights. After Alexander, Hildebrand was Pope, as Gregory VII (1073). He decreed absolutely the celibacy of the clergy; was resisted everywhere in the north of Europe, where there was some more respect for morality, but persecuted it earnestly.

The papal system was now established. From this we notice the dying struggles of the imperial power which had given Rome Popes for near a century. Gregory VII, in his account of the state of the Church, says: "Alone with my mind's eye, I look at the West, South, and North. I scarcely find bishops, legally such by their entrance and life, who rule the Christian people for the love of Christ, and not secular ambition; and among all secular princes, I know none who put God's honor before their own, and justice before gain. As to those amongst whom I dwell, as I often tell them, Romans, Lombards, and Normans, I denounce them as, in a certain way, worse than Jews and Pagans."¹ Gregory VII, having ex-

¹ As Abbot Transmundus had put out the eyes of some monks accused of rebellion, and torn out the tongue of one of them, De-

communicated the emperor, the emperor and his bishops chose Guibert (Clement III) Pope. Gregory would have attacked him at Ravenna with an army. He sought the help of the Normans. The Italians (Lombardy) and Germany being for the emperor, the emperor entered Rome, set Clement III on the papal throne. Gregory retired to St. Angelo. The emperor besieged him there. Robert Guiscard, the Norman, freed him, and after staying awhile in Rome, he retired to Salerno, under the protection of the Normans. Gregory VII died at Salerno. The small papal party secretly elected Desiderius Victor III. Clement III returned to Rome; he had been expelled in 1089, and came back in 1091. Didier refused to be Pope, and, when chosen, went back to Mount Casino, and would not be ordained, but at last yielded. The Normans and others came to Rome, and turned out Clement III from St. Peter's by force. Still it appears he held the upper hand there, for after the death of Victor III (Didier), Urban, named by him, was chosen at Terracina, under the influence of Mathilde, the great protectress of the popedom then, by a small assembly, forty persons, clergy and laity partly, by proxy, John, Bishop of Porto, having their authority.

It is important to notice at this part of the history, that what destroyed the power of Clement and the emperor in Italy was, that Urban got up the crusades through Peter the Hermit, and when that took effect, Clement was rejected. He was driven, it appears, from Rome by the Crusaders. Pope Urban the Second says:

siderius, Abbot of Casino, put him to penance. Gregory, then cardinal, approved the act, got him out of the abbot's hands, gave him an abbacy, and afterwards made a bishop of him. Anything for power.

"Enjoin a measure of suitable satisfaction to those who had killed the excommunicated, for we do not consider those as guilty of homicide who, burning with the zeal of their Catholic mother against the excommunicated, shall have happened to have slain some of them." At this time this was the greater part of Europe.

The remaining facts of this period may be briefly stated. Pascal II roused the emperor's son against him. That son banished him from Rome, and Gregory VIII was set up as Pope (1187). The Roman Pope died in exile, or two days after his return. Gelasius was elected as Roman Pope, but died in exile also soon after. Calixtus II followed as Roman Pope. He treats of peace with the emperor. Gregory VIII was his prisoner. Calixtus was not elected; he was chosen by a few cardinals and clergy, at Cluny, when Gelasius died, as trusted by him. After him the cardinals chose Innocent II. Other cardinals and the people chose Peter, Anacletus II, favored by the laity. Innocent II had to leave Rome, went to France, owned by Bernard, and in general in Europe; but Anacletus was Pope at Rome. On Anacletus' death, the schism for the moment was ended by St. Bernard's influence. The Emperor Lothair brought back Innocent, but as soon as he was gone Innocent had to go back to Pisa. Gregory was elected in Anacletus' stead as Victor and submitted to Innocent, but the Romans renounced obedience to Innocent. Celestine followed quietly. The next, Lucius, was killed in a rebellion of the Romans, by a blow of a stone, when assaulting the capital. His successor, Eugene, fled from Rome, but returned. Then came Anastasius IV. Adrian IV followed. Then a disputed election—Alexander and Victor; Victor given up by the emperor when beaten by the Lombards. Lucius

III and Urban III sat at Verona, not at Rome. Lucius fled, being hated and despised by the Romans, who attacked his territories, and he finally settled at Verona, when Urban was chosen. From Urban III on to Boniface VIII, that is, taking in Lucius, from 1181 to 1294, the history of the papacy is that of a worldly power, yet using excommunication as its weapon, contending against the emperors, using both Sicily and Lombardy as their main arms against him, with various success, but in result successful. But it wearied the world, and when Boniface VIII attempted to use the acquired power against Philip of France, he signally failed. His successor repeated his acts. And the next Pope, chosen by French influence, removed to Avignon, in France.

The most remarkable Pope of this period was Innocent III (1198), who held the fourth Council of Lateran (1215), when Transubstantiation was for the first time decreed. He established the Inquisition in the crusades against the Albigenses. We may notice, that, the See having been vacant three years through election in intrigues, there was a compromise, and Gregory X made a decree for what is now practised, that the cardinals should be shut up till they chose a Pope. Celestine V (1294) reserved it, and then resigned, as the cardinals were two years and a half before electing him. The person who got Celestine to resign got himself chosen in his place; it was Boniface VIII (1294). Celestine gives a curious reason to justify his abdication. He says Clement, who was named by St. Peter, resigned, that no Pope might be named by his predecessor. And then Clement came third after Lucius and Anacletus. So St. Peter made a blunder in beginning the matter. It is known the succession of the first three possessors of the See is hopelessly embroiled.

THE POPES AND THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE—1309-1870.

From 1309 the Pope lived at Avignon, under French influence and protection, proclaimed his rights over others, and submitted to France. The struggles with the emperor went on. Lewis set an anti-pope at Rome, Nicolas V, but he was soon given up to his competitor at Avignon. The friar Minorites and Italian cardinals sided with the emperor, who was preparing a general council against the Pope, who meanwhile died. Benedict XII succeeded at Avignon (1334). France would not allow him to make peace with the emperor: he was deprived of the Sacraments by the Pope, but the clergy who would not administer them were banished. But Lewis took ecclesiastical matters in hand, and lost influence. Clement VI succeeded Benedict XII (1242), and anathematized the emperor, and set up an anti-emperor, who was forced to fly. But the conduct of Clement VI, who had deposed an ecclesiastical elector to gain voices for his anti-emperor, had wearied men of the Popes. Clement VI got the upper hand, but injured the papacy. The electors of the empire met and declared the King of Rome received his power from electors only. From 1313 to 1316 the See was vacant; the cardinals would not elect. During this time, from the universal corruption and squeezing for money, the consciences of good men were rising up against the state of things. Miliez, Matthias von Jannow, both Bohemians before Huss. In England Wycliffe (1360). Gregory XI died at Rome, and a Pope was elected in a riot. All was violence and confusion. The cardinals elected another, Clement VII (1378), who went to Avignon, and there were two Popes, who divided Europe between them. Benedict XIII succeeded at Avignon

(1384), Boniface, IX at Rome (1390), and then Gregory XII (1406). This brought on the Council of Pisa, which put down both. The council chose Alexander V (1409). He dissolved the council, and did not reform.

There were now three Popes. The exaction of money became intolerable, selling of public benefices. It was said it was allowable, as the Pope could not sin in it. This brought on the Council of Pisa,—“a council,” says Cardinal Bellarmine, “neither manifestly approved nor manifestly condemned.” That it was approved, the succeeding Alexander, being called VI, shows, for Alexander V was made Pope by that council, and the same circumstance John XXIII (1410), to be confessedly a true Pope, though moderns say no. John XXIII being obliged to fly, Rome consented to a new council, which met at Constance (1414). Here first they voted by nations. John was deposed, accused of every sort of horrible crime. He had first fled the council. Gregory XII resigned. Benedict XIII remained determined, was deposed, and finally deserted by all but the Spanish town he lived in. Martin V was elected by all (1417). The council had formally decreed a council superior to the Pope, and had acted on it. Martin condemned all appeals from Popes, and after a little reformation dissolved the council. It was here John Huss was burnt at the stake, and it was declared that faith was not to be kept with a heretic. He had had letters of safe conduct. Martin confirmed the articles of faith of the Council of Constance. Martin V quarrelled with cardinals. He appointed a council first at Pavia, then at Siena, but which met afterwards at Basle, under Eugenius. But there was no reformation really, and the universal complaint continued. France made regulations for herself. Eugene IV succeeded Martin V (1431).

The iniquities with which John XXIII was charged were so dreadful that when presented to the chief men of the Council of Constance they thought it better not to have him called to account; the Apostolic See would be discredited altogether, and all his promotions of ecclesiastics held void. The Council of Constance had ordered that a council should be held within a limited time, and a second within seven years, and these were held in consequence. Eugenius IV, fearing reformation from the first, sought to dissolve the council. The council under his own legate resisted, confirmed the decrees of Constance, that a council was above the Pope, and could decide so as to subject all, the Pope included, in articles of faith, schism, and reformation.

The cry was universal, echoed in these councils, for reformation in head and members. The French held a national council to back up the Council of Basle against the Pope's effort, and even the emperor, though yielding to the Pope for a time to get crowned, returned to the council. But this Pope tried it out. It condemned the Pope, and deposed him, and elected Felix V. Meanwhile, the council having cited the Pope (1437) to appear before it, he appointed a council at Ferrara, and the two sat together. The Council of Ferrara condemned that of Basle. From Ferrara it was transferred to Florence. The Council of Florence ended in 1442. The Pope appointing one in Rome; that at Basle, in 1444, appointing one in Germany. Felix V had one at Lausanne, but subsequently resigned the papacy on condition of having all his cardinals and promotions to benefices owned, and certain personal privileges. Nicolas V, the other Pope, withdrew all his acts against him and the Council of Basle.

GALLICAN LIBERTIES AND DECLINE OF THE PAPACY.

The Pope of Rome had thus seemingly gained uncontested supremacy; but the fact that all the respectable clergy had met, condemned deposed Popes, and named others, whose successors all subsequent Popes have been, made their positions very different. All this theologians avoid, if possible, pronouncing a judgment on those councils, even when they held the supremacy of the Pope in the highest way. Bellarmine admits that the Council of Pisa can neither be approved nor condemned. If it be condemned the Pope is not Pope, for the Popes are the successors of the council's nominee; if it be approved, then a council can depose a Pope. Neither proposition would do. The like is the case of the Council of Constance. That council deposed three Popes, and chose another. But then, it openly declared that a Pope was subject to a general council, and that a council represented the universal Church, and could act in its name, and was infallible; and it acted on it; and again, the succession depends on their act. Moreover, Martin V sanctioned the doctrine that a general council represents the whole Church. Bellarmine recognizes the power of a council to settle schism. He refers to Popes Cornelius (251), Symmachus (498), Innocent II (1030), Alexander III (1159), and the Pisa and Constance councils. No remedy, he says, is more powerful than a council. So for false doctrines in Popes, as Marcellinus (296), Damasus (366), Sixtus III (432), Leo III (795), and Leo IV (847). Marcellinus, he says, had to confess it; and the rest purged themselves. Now, though the Popes had the upper hand, the universal conscience of the Church was roused; the weightiest, godliest doctors declared there must be reformation in

the head and in the members. This became the universal cry all over Europe; whenever the Pope went too far there was an appeal to a general council.

France maintained, in what are called the Gallican liberties, the doctrine of Constance. The Popes themselves, instead of governing an ignorant and prostrate Europe, whose princes, being divided and jealous of one another, were glad of the Pope's help, while he was himself and one in his purpose and scrupled at no weapons, were now judged by laity and clergy, who were subject to them, and gave themselves up to mere petty local ambition. France and Germany were considerably emancipated in the spirit of men's minds; deliverance was looked for anxiously, and though disappointed in their hopes of redress from the councils, were groaning so much the more, though hopelessly, under the burden. Spain and Portugal were more content, because they liked that title of the Pope which divided the New World between them. But men's spirits craved deliverance, threatened councils, appealed to them, and were ripe for some deliverance. The unheard-of infamies of Alexander VI, and even the crimes and conduct of Sixtus IV and Julius II, only sunk the papacy lower, though none opposed it; and the shameless sale of indulgences,—practically an allowance to sin,—gave the last blow to man's conscience and opened the door to the testimony of an offended God.

Nicolas V (1447) arranged matters peaceably with Felix V, the Lausanne Pope, who was, during his life, to be respected as such, though without power. Calixtus IV (1455) followed him. They succeeded in gaining influence in Germany; but the attempt to arouse the people to a crusade against the Turks utterly failed. Pius II (1458) failed in like attempts; he condemned appeals to

a general council, when we see it was become a general thing. This same Pope, as *Æneas Sylvius*, had been a great adherent of the Council of Basle. Paul II (1464) was arbitrary.

The cardinals at this time bound themselves all when in conclave, as in the case of Eugenius, to reform the papal court in head and members, hold a council, and to many other points. Eugene confirmed this by a bull. Paul bound himself in the same way, but by a decree rejected it all, and by cajoling and violence forced all the cardinals but one to join him, though some very reluctantly. Platina complains bitterly of his undoing iniquitously all Pius II had done, threatened to complain to kings and princes (for parliaments, universities, kings, and everybody did so then), and have a general council, and got put in prison and in the stocks for his pains. Sixtus IV (1471) succeeded. He occupied himself with low Italian intrigues and conspiracy to advance his family. Innocent VIII (1484) came after him. He was famous for promoting and enriching illegitimate children, though one of the conditions (in conclave) of election was not to do it. He was the subject of pasquinades on this account. Rome, they said, might well call him father. It appears he had seven children while Pope. He received pay from the sultan for keeping a rival brother safe when the Turks were invading Europe. To Alexander VI (1492) one hardly knows how to refer. He is recognized to have been,—except it be his own second illegitimate son,—the most horrible fiend who has come under public notice. A thorough *debauchée* at all times, so as to attract notice and reproof even at the papal court; elected Pope by bribery and promises, he got rid in one way or another of those who promoted him. His second son killed

his eldest brother, and the Pope's other favorite, Peroto, who had hid himself in the Pope's mantle, so that the blood spurted up in the Pope's face. France made him Duke of Valentinois, to reward the Pope for his divorce. Alexander made a cardinal of him when quite young, but he left the clerical order to be a prince in Italy. He killed his sister's husband to marry her better. This same sister, when the Pope was away, kept the papal court, and opened the dispatches, consulting the cardinals. She was one of the Pope's five illegitimate children. Her marriage was celebrated with pomp in the Pope's palace. Infessnia's language is bitter to a degree on the occasion, and he declares that the universal corruption of the clergy through Innocent's and Alexander's care of their children made men fear it might reach the monks and people of religion. "Although," he adds, "the monasteries of the city were all but all (*quasi omnia*) turned into brothels, no one gainsaying it." The current lines on him were, "Alexander sells kings, altars, Christ. He first bought them, he has good right to sell them." Engaged with his second son Borgia in poisoning (as he had poisoned others already) some rich cardinals, to get their money, at a feast prepared for it, he took, being very hot, the poisoned wine and died.

The very brief pontificate of Pius III (1503) needs no notice. Julius II (1503) was engaged in wars. The cardinals had all sworn to reform, and have a general council. He was occupied fighting against the Venetians, and afterwards the French. Louis XII had a council at Tours. Germany prepared her griefs, and sought a pragmatic sanction like France. The French council held that the king could renounce allegiance to the Pope. He should keep the decrees of Basle, and appeal to a future council.

If Julius, armed, pronounced sentence upon him or his allies, it would be of no force whatever. The king and emperor summoned a general council at Pisa, but it was mainly composed of French bishops. The Pope convoked another council at the Lateran. The Pisan Council came to nothing, though it deposed the Pope by a decree. A number of cardinals were engaged in it, founded on Julius' promise to have a general council within two years. I only refer to it to show the confusion all was in. The emperor and king of France adhered afterwards to the Lateran Council. Francis I and Leo X (1513) made a treaty. The Pope by that had again quietly the upper hand. The councils of Constance and Basle, on the first of which the succession of the papacy depends, maintained the authority of councils and bishops. France held strongly to this. The councils of Florence and Lateran V set up the Pope. In result half Europe broke off, and the Pope by the Council of Trent remained absolute in the rest, if we except the Gallican liberties.

In Leo's time light had come in, the condemning of Popes by councils had weakened confidence; papal authority had lost a great deal of its influence, and the excessive insult to conscience in Tetzel's sale of indulgences had filled the cup. The princes were angry at their oppression by the Pope; they had long complained, though they had not dared to stir. But when God raised up Luther to show the iniquity of all this, and after some time the want of foundation for the Pope's power, all was providentially prepared. People came to confess to him, guilty of all sorts of crimes. When he insisted on putting practical penance on them, they produced their letters of indulgence, and were easy in their sin. But a protest against Rome could not have been delayed. It

had been going on at Pisa, at Basle, and at Constance, by legal attempts, by the *centum gravana*, by the complaints of Bernard and Messalas, and holy men of times previous to the Reformation. All the difference was, that God then raised up men of sufficient faith to brave the Pope;¹ whereas, previously, the reformation had been left to the Popes, and all was worse than ever. The king and bishops of France adhered to the Gallican principles and were in constant collision with all the Popes from Pius IV (1560) to Pius IX (1846). They opposed Roman centralization; rejected the yoke of Ultramontane pretensions, and held the authority of a general council to be superior to that of the Pope. The great principles of the Gallican Church have been held by Lacordaire, Montalembert, Gratry, Affre, Sibour, and Darboy, late Archbishop of Paris. Dr. J. J. I. Von Dollinger, Professors Reusch, Langen, Menzel, and Bishop Reinkens, of Germany, Bishop Herzog, of Switzerland, and Père Hyacinthe Loysen, of France, in our own day, have attached themselves to the same ideas. These men would not be partisans of Ultramontane doctrines, and sacrifice their reason in submitting to the arbitrary authority of Pius IX. Pius IX (1846), when compared with Gregory XVI (1831), was a good man, but not a great man. He commenced by introducing some reforms. Taxes were reduced, political offenders were pardoned, and civil offices were given to laymen, but soon returned to conservatism and absolutism. He framed into dogmas the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility, but by the irresistible force of events he lost his temporal power, and the French protectorate ceased

¹ Luther wrote his famous letter to Pope Leo X (1578), and in company with Melanchthon and Staupils began the Reformation in Germany.

with the defeat of Napoleon III at Sedan, in 1870. Pope Leo XIII (1878) is a scholar, theologian, and poet, and like his predecessor, Pius IX, began with reforms. He favors the sciences, and recommends the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and other schoolmen. He possesses great dignity, amiableness of character, and executive ability; and, though apparently opposed by the Ultramontane Jesuits, he has already made some headway in harmonizing the differences existing between Church and State. He accepted, what Pius IX impotently opposed, the unification of Italy; permitted what Pius IX solemnly forbade, the election of priests by parishes in Switzerland; counselled the Belgian bishops not to oppose the Constitution, and the German bishops to obey the laws of the land. Leo XIII is a very popular Pope, and the indications are that he will bring about a better feeling between the papacy and national governments.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GENERAL COUNCILS—325-1870.



N the early councils scarce any Western bishops were present. The West had not the mental activity of the East, and they did not raise useless questions as the Easterns did. In no one of the first six general councils were a dozen Western bishops; in many not half that number. Three were found in the first one. A note, said to be of Dionysius Exiguus, says they did not sign at Nice, because they were not suspected of heresy. If this were so, it gives a curious character to the decrees and signatures. It was to force the suspected bishops to declare and bind themselves. The number of prelates is uncertain; Eusebius says two hundred and fifty. In Hardouin we have three hundred and eighteen names, which afterward was held to be a mystical number. The late councils were, on the contrary, wholly Western, and of the Latin Church. There were no Easterns. At Florence, Pope Eugenius attempted it, but it was a complete failure. The assent a few Greek prelates did give was utterly repudiated by their Church when they went home. All these late Western councils, save Pisa, Constance, and Basle, were assemblies called and managed by the Popes for their own purposes, with, in general, a vast majority of Italian bishops. Pisa, Constance, and Basle were the

fruit of the struggles of the conscience of Christendom against the hopeless wickedness and oppression of the papacy and the Popes. There has been no council since which represented East and West. It was attempted at Sardica, and failed; they split and held two. The most complete one was Ariminum, under Constantius, whose four hundred bishops undid the work of Nice, but it did not succeed. The Westerns had been dragged in, and afterwards protested.

I-VIII. IMPERIAL (EASTERN) COUNCILS—325-869.

I. THE COUNCIL AT NICE—325.

Constantine, the first Christian emperor, meddled, as did his successors, largely in ecclesiastical matters. As a political man, he felt his government hindered by the dissensions of the bishops, which roused the whole Christian world. He took up the Donatist question; he directed certain bishops to hear the same a second time, others to rehear it, and at last heard himself, and put the Donatists down. Meanwhile, the Arian question or controversy raged in the East. It had spread from Alexandria over the whole Eastern world, and divided the people into two factions. Thereupon the emperor writes a letter, saying the East had been the source of light to the world; how grieved he was, and so on; that as they were one in faith (Alexander and Arius), they ought to hold their tongues on nice points, and not let such delicate questions go out before the ignorant, and make confusion. But in vain; so he summoned a council at Nice (325), in the hope of settling it. The invitations came from himself, and he provided horses for the bishops to come, or allowed them to use the public posts; had them to meet in the

palace, and presided himself. A glowing description is given by Eusebius of his coming into the assembly and taking his seat at the head of it. When the bishops had bowed, and said a few complimentary words, he sat down, and the bishops too. Then he made a long harangue to them, and gave liberty of speech afterwards to the bishops, soothed them, answered objections, reasoned with them, and brought them, though with difficulty, to some kind of quietness, and got all but five to sign, who were banished. The emperor held thus a strong hand over them; having once made a decision in a council, little or big, he enforced it for peace's sake by his own authority. The orthodox suffered as others, if they were not quiet, Athanasius among the rest. That Constantine convoked and managed the council is beyond all question; Eusebius, Ruffinus, and Epiphanius all agree. That he presided is equally certain; he sat in a little golden seat at the head, the bishops down the sides of the apartment. Alexander of Alexandria, Epiphanius tells us, got him to convoke it. Hosius subscribed first, then the two presbyters sent by Sylvester of Rome, then the rest.

II. THE COUNCIL AT CONSTANTINOPLE—381.

The Second (so called) General Council of Constantinople (381) consisted of one hundred and fifty bishops, called together by the Emperor Theodosius; and the bishops so declare in their letter, which precedes the decrees, and ask expressly the confirmation of the emperor of what they had decreed. They communicated their decrees and canons to the Western bishops in common, then assembled at Rome, giving Constantinople the second rank after Rome, but on grounds which refer merely to civil rank in each. They confirm the sixth canon of the Council

of Nice as to the independence of the larger divisions of the hierarchical system. Their creed is the now-accepted Nicene one, an article forbidden by Pope Leo being added. But the Pope had nothing to say to the council; the Popes did not accept its canons, but they are received in the universal church. Baronius seeks to invalidate one, but is corrected by Pagi, who shows it to have been universally received. It is worthy of note here, that the article added to their creed is still rejected by the Greeks, who hold the creed as settled by the Council of Constantinople. And it is further to be remarked, that the General Council of Ephesus forbade any other creed to be proposed to any one, and the great Pope Leo this very article in particular. This added article, which came from Spain and France, is the great subject of division with the Greeks, though they do not believe in Purgatory either, nor, of course, recognize the Popes. Not only did Pope Leo formally forbid its being inserted, but had the Constantinopolitan creed engraved in Greek and Latin on silver plates on this account in the church.

III. THE COUNCIL AT EPHESUS—431.

The next Council of Ephesus (431) was convoked, as the previous one, by the emperor; the Pope's representatives were in it. But Cyril's violence against Nestorius had left Eutychian sects at Alexandria, and bore its fruits. The Archbishop of Alexandria presided, as before. They beat the poor old Archbishop of Constantinople in such a way that he died of it in a few days, and others were severely maltreated. Pope Leo condemned Eutychus in the famous epistle to Flavian, too rhetorical for such a subject, and questionable, I judge, in some expressions, but doubtless a remarkable document, and

substantially sound, and asked for a council in or near Italy. The emperor refused, but the council first convened at Nice, and then removed to Chalcedon, was held (451), which also condemned Eutychus, adopting Leo's statement and Cyril's two letters to Nestorius, on the ground of their intrinsic merits. The legates asked if this and the other councils agree with Leo. The bishops answered, Leo agrees with them. There was a great struggle for jurisdiction and rank between Leo and Anatolius, the legates having orders to resist all advance in rank of Constantinople. But it was maintained and increased to equal dignity and second rank in precedence, and the contested jurisdiction given it, the legates staying away that day, then complaining of its being done; but it was confirmed. Anatolius gave way afterwards in form, but kept his ground in fact. The canon remains in the universal canons, but the Popes would never own it. The Romans were charged with forging part of a canon here to give supremacy to Rome, as they were convicted of it just at this time in Africa, which peremptorily rejected the pretensions of Rome, and sent off its legate. But what I mainly refer to in the council is this: that Theodore and Ibas were declared sound in the faith, and Leo confirmed twice over the doctrinal decisions of the council. But in the following council, Pope Vigilius first gave a judgment in favor of the three chapters, as it was called; but he had to do with a powerful emperor, who had now reconquered Italy, and he made the Pope come to the council, and finally forced him to sign and confirm its decrees, which condemned the three chapters which Chalcedon had pronounced sound, by which confirmation, moreover, Baronius says, it became a general council.

In the Council of Ephesus the Pope acted very ably by his legates, but in which no other Western prelates were present. The emperor had convoked the council, and his commissioner forbade them to meet till all the Eastern prelates were there; but Cyril, and the bishops of his party, drove him out, took possession of all the churches, and settled the matter by condemning Nestorius before the Easterns came, Nestorius and his party protesting, but not daring to go. The Easterns, however, did not yield. Cyril was excommunicated and deposed by them; and it was only on Cyril's giving up some points that John of Antioch was reconciled some years later with Cyril, through the emperor's means. The result was, Nestorianism spread through the East, even to China. The emperor gave up Nestorius to have peace, and he was banished. But Leo, in his letter subsequently to Flavian of Constantinople, adopted at the Council of Chalcedon, does not use the word Nestorius objected to—*Deipara*. The whole course of Cyril was a disgrace to any sober Christian man; he was the true source of Eutychianism, and I judge his soundness very questionable on the Atonement. This third general council was perfectly shameful, and really produced lasting disasters to the Church at large. No one acquainted with history can deny it. It was really the fruit of the Pope's jealousy of Constantinople, and consequent intrigues. Constantinople had not been what was called an Apostolic See; was raised to eminence by the importance of the city as the capital. Old Rome could not bear this. These councils rested the pre-eminence of Rome and Constantinople on their being capitals, old and new Rome. And general councils confirmed by Popes have directly contradicted one another.

IV. THE COUNCIL AT CHALCEDON—451.

As to the Chalcedon, the fourth general council, the Pope wanted to get one in Italy to condemn Eutychus. The emperor, Theodosius, refused, saying all was settled at Ephesus. So little did Popes call general councils then. His successor was well disposed, but refused peremptorily to have it in Italy, called it at Nice, and then, in order to manage it better, brought it to Chalcedon, close to Constantinople. His commissioners sat in the council save one day, suppressed the violence of the prelates at the beginning, saying they ought to show a better example, and made propositions, gave their consent; in fact, presided actively all the time in the council, save one day. On that day, on which they left the prelates to settle about the creed, the council deposed Dioscorus, also Patriarch of Alexandria, for his crimes at the previous Council of Ephesus. On their return the next day, the commissioners said they must answer for it, they had not been there. In truth, their consciences need not have been much burdened. But even as to the creed to be signed, one was proposed. The papal legates opposed, and said they would go if Pope Leo's letter was not assented to as it was, along with the creeds of Nice and Constantinople. The letter was in point of fact in many respects an admirable one. It was referred to the emperor, who decided what was to be done, and the council stated their views in detail for themselves, though approving Leo's letter, but would give their own definition of faith. Afterwards, Constantinople was put on an equality with Rome, the legates craftily keeping away. They protested on their return, but the bishops maintained it, and the commissioners declared it had passed,

and the council said, "We remain in this judgment." In this Council of Chalcedon, Ibas and Theodoret, favorers of Nestorius' views, were declared orthodox. They publicly recognized the Empress Pulcheria as the person who had put down Nestorius.

V. THE SECOND COUNCIL AT CONSTANTINOPLE—553.

The Fifth General Council is too plain in its history to need more than the plain statement of facts. There had been a great contest about the merits of Origen, and the monks had been breaking into each others' monasteries, and in the course of the disputes which followed blood had been shed in the churches. However, they got the emperor to condemn Origen's doctrine. He was a powerful prince, and recovered Italy and Africa from the barbarians, and liked his own way. A certain Theodore of Cæsarea, a great favorite with the emperor, was fond of Origen and Eutychianism, and determined to have his revenge, and he engaged Justinian to condemn three persons' writings—Theodore of Mopsuestia,¹ Ibas, and Theodoret, all three opposed to Cyril, who had had his way in the Council of Ephesus. These three persons had been pronounced to be in full communion in the Council of Chalcedon, which had rather tended to set up Nestorius' reputation again, whom Cyril and the Council of Ephesus had condemned. Justinian published a long decree, condemning the three chapters, as the writings of the three prelates above named were called. He had a kind of council, and the Oriental patriarchs and prelates

¹ His writings were greatly read in the East. Cyril tried to get them condemned, but the Easterns absolutely refused. He is said to have been the originator of Nestorianism, and even teacher of Nestorius.

were obliged to condemn them, too. Pope Vigilius condemned them and excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople, and all who had condemned the three chapters. However, Justinian thought he would be more tractable at Constantinople, and made him come. There, in fact, he joined in communion again with the excommunicated ones, and condemned the three chapters. But then, all the prelates of Illyrica and Africa, in fact, of all the West in general, separated from his communion as unfaithful—a bad business according to modern Romanist notions. To get out of the scrape, he acceded to the proposal of some of these prelates, of a general council, and withdrew his condemnation of the three chapters, and forbade any resolution till there was a council. The emperor persecuted him (indeed, he had exiled him and afterwards brought him to Constantinople); he fled to Chalcedon, and the emperor compromised, and he came back. He then pressed for a council in Italy. That did not suit the emperor, and he refused, but called one at Constantinople. Vigilius would not go there, and he signed his private judgment with eighteen other prelates from the West, while one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy sat in the council under the emperor's authority. This letter of his, called constitutive, was given to the emperor, but was taken no notice of in the council. To say the truth, it was on the whole the most sensible paper in the whole miserable business, and he forbade, by the authority of the Apostolic See, in any way to contravene what he then pronounced. However, the emperor went on with his council, when, save a very few renegades, there were no Western prelates. The council altogether condemned the three chapters, which was quite different from Pope Vigilius' constitutive letter.

And Vigilius refused to sign, as he had refused to be present. Justinian banished him again, and he gave way, and signed; and it became thereby, says Baronius, a general council. But universal confusion was the result. The Nestorians established a patriarchate at Seleucia, were favored by the Persians in opposition to the Roman Empire, and spread over all the East, Christianity becoming very nearly the established religion of China at that time. And the Eutychians, raising their head through the activity of a monk, Jacobus, spread too, and the patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, such as they are since Mohammedanism overran the East, are in their hands spread as far as India, and have a primate in Abyssinia. Both subsist. Not long ago violent persecutions were set on foot against the Nestorians, it is said, at the instigation of the so-called Bishop of Babylon in connection with Rome, the Consul of France.

VI. THE THIRD COUNCIL AT CONSTANTINOPLE—680.

The Sixth General Council furnishes us with some curious elements as to the progress of church history. Eastern Christendom was always discussing points. Rome was always pushing its power. In the East they got a new point. Christ had only one will, or at any rate His divine and human will coalesced, though He had two natures. The emperor adopted, and Pope Honorius wrote a letter approving it. However, there was a change; the Roman legates opposed it at Constantinople, and one of them, Martin, became Pope; he then denounced all the holders of it. The then emperor published a rescript, forbidding discussions, and all men to be left in peace. The Pope denounced this as sanctioning evil. The emperor tried to get hold of him, failed the first time, but

succeeded the second, and brought him prisoner, and kept him so till he died. The Roman clergy, less staunch than the people, gave way, and elected another Pope, whom the emperor confirmed; he never had confirmed his stern predecessor, Martin. The emperor, who had always maintained his rescript, died, and his successor proposed a conference to settle it. Four Popes had succeeded one another rapidly during his reign, and at last Agathon assembled a Western council, at which, however, no prelates from Spain, Britain, or Germany, were present, save one on his own affairs, and three from France. However, they put themselves forward as representing the whole Latin Church. In truth, save Scotland and Ireland, and the north of England, it was at this time pretty well papalized. However, as the council of the Apostolic See, as they say, they condemn the Monothelites, as they were called. Legates went from the Pope to Constantinople, but they were not to discuss, the Pope said, nor a tittle to be altered in the confession. The emperor had removed a stiff patriarch, and put in a milder one, and formed an assembly at Constantinople, and ordered Macarius, the Patriarch of Antioch, the Monothelite leader, to assemble as many as he could of his party. Thus, besides other prelates, the Eastern patriarchs, or their legates, were present. The West was only represented by the Pope's legates. Macarius was deserted by most of his partisans, who found the tide against him, for the emperor sought peace, though they had pretty well reviled each other. Macarius, however, insisted on the authority of Honorius, of Sergius, previously Patriarch of Constantinople, and of Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, but he was all but unanimously deposed and excommunicated. And then followed the strangest result. They condemned all

the writings of these heretics, and their memory they anathematized—Theodore of Pharan, author of the mischief; Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and two of his successors; Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria; Honorius, Pope of Rome, and Macarius of Antioch, and all following them. In the thirteenth session they are declared out of the pale of the Catholic Church; that is, lost forever; and, in the sixteenth session, anathema is pronounced on them as heretics. This council was accepted and confirmed as the Sixth General Council, when the result was notified to him by Leo, the Pope who succeeded to Agathon; and he anathematizes expressly Pope Honorius and the others. In this Sixth General Council there were at first some thirty or forty bishops, at the end one hundred and sixty.

VII. THE SECOND COUNCIL AT NICE—787.

The emperor, the Isaurian, who had long known the Arabs, and seen them despise the idolatry of Christendom, had a strong desire to reform the abuses of image-worship. He issued in 726 forbidding them to be worshipped, and the pictures and images were directed to be put high up, but were not ordered to be taken away. But Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Pope Gregory II opposed vehemently; the Greeks rose in insurrection, and, advancing to Constantinople, were defeated. The emperor now went further, and, in 730, had the images and pictures destroyed. Thence tumults, murder, and reprisals by the government. Germanus and the Popes sustained their cause by appealing to the most ridiculous fable, which no one believes now—that Christ sent a miraculous picture of himself to Abgarus, King of Edessa—and insulted the emperor in the grossest possible language. His son Constantine called a council in 754 of three

hundred and thirty-eight bishops of the East, and they condemned images; they called themselves a general council. This went on till one Irene, a widow of his son, remained with a young child. She wheeled round, and then three hundred and seventy-seven bishops and the Pope's legates authorized image-worship. This was at the Council of Nice in 787. There were no Western bishops, but the Pope ratified it. But the West were not, after all, such image-worshippers as the Pope. They held to what the great Pope Gregory had written to Serenus of Marseilles, when he had broken images there, which were then coming in—that all worship of them was wrong, but that they might be useful for the ignorant, to recall the mind to those represented by them. Here, then, superstition had made progress, and the Popes had changed with the times, but it seems the West had not. In the Western Empire, under Charlemagne, the Council of Nice was rejected. First of all, this great founder of the new Western Empire assembled his bishops, and put forth a book in his own name, in which he condemned the Council of Constantinople, which suppressed all pictures and images, and equally the Council of Nice, which allowed them to be revered and worshipped. He went through the Scriptures and the Fathers, and proved that this worship and reverence was all wrong. But the emperor's and bishops' book goes further. Pope Adrian had sent them the decisions of the Council of Nice, to which they had never been called, and they say, "We receive the six general councils, but we reject with contempt novelties, as also the council held in Bithynia (that is, the so-called Seventh General Council of Nice), to authorize the worship of images, the acts of which, destitute of style and sense, have come to us"; and then they refute seriously

all that the Pope had said to the Eastern emperor. They declared that the Council of Nice was not a general one, because it was not gathered from all parts of the Church, and appeal to Gregory the Great's letter to Serenus.

But this work of the bishops of France and Germany, then one empire, issued in Charlemagne's name, was not all. In 794 he had a council at Frankfort-on-the-Main, at which were the Pope's legates and three hundred prelates of Germany, France, and Spain. This council refers to the Council of Nice as the Council of the Greeks, and rejects entirely, unanimously, and with contempt, its doctrine and decision. All this was sent to the Pope. He replies in a long letter on the doctrines, and adds, "We have received the Council of Nice because conformed to the doctrine of St. Gregory (Gregory the Great which was not), fearing the Greeks might return to their error. However, we have yet given no answer to the emperor as to the council." So here we have an alleged general council received by the Pope, disowned publicly by all the West, except Italy, and its doctrine condemned. All the assembled bishops of the West, with the Pope's legates, declare that the Council of Nice was not a general council, and reject with contempt, unanimously [these are the words], its doctrines and authority; and accordingly it was not, for a great length of time, received in the Western Empire as a general council, and this the Council of Frankfort was. The Pope's legates were at both. The Pope received and defended Nice, but said he had not written to the emperor, so he only half agreed to Nice, either; but urged Charlemagne to come and help him to get back his territory, which the Eastern emperor had seized on. Gradually superstition advanced, and Nice was in credit, and Frankfort went down. In Frankfort

the emperor was recognized as president. Louis le Debonnaire's commissioners, prelates of France, condemned the Pope in the matter; and they, as Charlemagne—that is, the Western prelates—had before done, did not admit any council, or the Pope, to be universal or catholic, unless they held the Catholic truth according to the Scriptures and Fathers. Indeed, it is curious enough, for those that cry up the Fathers, that Augustine, a Father of, perhaps, the greatest authority of any in the Western Church, thus speaks of councils, showing how little he thought them an infallible security. All councils, not merely (so-called) general ones, claimed the guidance of the Spirit. After stating that holy canonical Scripture is superior to all writings of bishops: "So," he adds, "they can be corrected by wiser discourse or reproved by councils, if in any thing they have erred from the truth; and councils themselves, in particular districts or provinces, are, without any doubt, to yield to the authority of plenary councils, formed out of the whole Christian world; and prior plenary councils themselves may be amended (*emendari*) by later ones, when by the experience of things, when that which was shut was opened, and what lay hid is known; without any inflated arrogance, or any elation of sacrilegious arrogance; without any contentions of livid envy; with holy humility, with catholic peace, with Christian charity."—*De Bapt. Con. Don. II*, 3.

Now, which was right: the general council, or Gregory the Great, or Gregory III? What a sea of confusion and contradiction we are in here! Three hundred and thirty-eight prelates, all of the East, calling themselves a general council, vote against images; three hundred and seventy-five, with Pope Gregory III, vote for them; three hundred of the West and the Pope's legates, appealing to

Pope Gregory the Great's authority, and following his instructions, condemn both, and then the Pope, and declare in the most solemn way that the former council of the two they condemn was no general council at all, but a Greek one, which they reject. The Pope takes easy, because he wants his territory defended. The Greeks contended about it for a length of time,—sometimes one, sometimes the other party prevailing. In the Council of Nice there were no Western prelates; in the Council of Frankfort there were no Eastern. Really, general councils had ceased, if ever they could have been called so, for in none of the first was the West represented by prelates; they were convened by the emperors in the East, to settle heretical disputes. The only exception was the Council of Sardica, and there East and West were so opposed that they separated, and the Easterns sat at Philippopolis, and the Westerns at Sardica. The emperors had always convened the councils up to the present time, and presided in them; and as soon as there was an emperor in the West, he did the same thing. Nor did the Popes question it; they assist, and the council states that the emperor presided. At this time the English and Irish churches were not under the authority of the Popes at all, nor for long after.

VIII. THE FOURTH COUNCIL AT CONSTANTINOPLE—869.

The Eighth General Council is important to us in this respect, that the Greeks held one, the Romans another, for a general council. The Greeks, one in 879, the Romans, one in 869; the latter, with very few prelates and pretended envoys from the patriarchs, condemned Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and set up Ignatius, who had been driven away. The legates of Rome were

at the former (Greek Council), and it was so far owned by the Pope that he agreed to Photius being patriarch, Ignatius being now dead; but as Constantinople would not give up Bulgaria to the jurisdiction of Rome, the Pope excommunicated Photius, and he the Pope, and all the pretension to a Catholic Church ceased. The schism between the East and West was complete in the Eighth Council.

IX-XV. PAPAL (WESTERN) COUNCILS—1123-1311.

IX. THE FIRST LATERAN COUNCIL—1123.

The first Council of Lateran was convened under Pope Calixtus II. There being no imperial power of any sufficient weight remaining in the West, the Popes held councils of their own and for their own interests. The first general Council of Lateran passed decrees about the Duchy of Benevento belonging to the Pope, and forgave the sins of those who would go to war to recover Jerusalem from the Saracens. They were Western councils, and entirely under papal influences for some centuries—centuries, as all admit, of utter darkness and wickedness. That is, as long as there were emperors, emperors called the councils (it was first an idea of Constantine's to make peace in the Church); and, when emperors ceased to call them, their power being gone, the schism between East and West was complete, and no universal Church ever externally existed since. The East was overrun by the Mohammedans; the West by darkness and atrocities.

X-XII. THE SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH COUNCILS AT LATERAN—1139-1215.

The fourth Lateran Council was the most important of these, and was under Pope Innocent III, and at a time

when the papal power was at its height. It was a general council of a very particular kind, a large number of Western bishops (four hundred and twelve, it is said) and some eight hundred abbots and priors, and others, such as ambassadors, assisting at it. But there was no consulting about any thing. The Pope had prepared seventy canons or rules, read them out ready-made, and silence was supposed to confirm them. They were simply decrees of Innocent III, graced by the presence of prelates, abbots, and ambassadors. At this council, for the first time, transubstantiation was decreed to be a church doctrine, and confession required yearly to the parish priest. At this council the horrible iniquities of the crusade against the Count of Toulouse, who protected his subjects, the Albigenses, were sanctioned, and the Inquisition began, perfected soon after as a system by succeeding Popes.

XIII-XV. THE FIRST AND SECOND COUNCILS AT LYONS AND VIENNE—1245-1311.

We come now to some important councils, omitting much by which the Pope sought to strengthen his power, ecclesiastical and temporal. The papacy, during the councils of Lyons and Vienne, got so bad that disputes arose in its own circle, and, in 1378, there were two Popes, this state of things lasting about forty years. But this only made matters worse; Europe was divided, and they could only get money from half, and every sort of ecclesiastical corruption and oppression was introduced to have it, which some spent in dissoluteness in their courts, some heaped up. The University of Paris strove to heal the matter, and, after long negotiating and intriguing on all sides, the cardinals of both parties summoned a council (provincial) at Pisa for March, 1409. The cardinals

are a body formed originally of the principal ecclesiastics of Rome of different ranks in the hierarchy by a decree of Pope Nicolas II, in 1059, to elect the Pope, a right enjoyed up to that time by all at Rome, and which had led to all sorts of tumults, violence, and bloodshed, and, to appease the opposition of the rest, added to by Alexander III; others have been added to them, and now many out of Rome are named. They form a kind of court to the Pope; they have the highest rank in the papal system, though not necessarily in the episcopacy, as they are from the various orders of the hierarchy. The council deposed both the Popes (Urban VI and Clement VII), and after the cardinals had solemnly engaged themselves to reform the abuses which existed, Alexander V was elected, the effect of which was that they had three Popes instead of two.

XVI-XIX. REFORMING (PRELATIC) COUNCILS—1414-1563.

XVI. THE COUNCIL AT CONSTANCE—1414-1418.

Pope Alexander V's successor, John XXIII, was such a horrible monster, and a King Ladislaus, of Naples, whom he had provoked, having forced him to fly from Rome, the emperor took advantage of it to get him to summon a council, which was called for November, 1414,—the famous Council of Constance. Already the state of the popedom and the writings of the famous Gerson had prepared men's minds to consider a council superior to a Pope. The Council of Constance declared its superiority to the Pope; tried to get him to resign, which he promised, fearing his conduct was going to be inquired into; evaded, and they deposed him. One of the other two,—for there were three,—Gregory XII, resigned, and the

third was deserted; and though he had a kind of successor, the schism thus ended. But little reformation was effected, the council leaving it to the Pope whom they chose,—Martin V. But it is, as Romanist historians say, the wisdom of Rome to approve nothing at Constance and to change nothing at Constance. It is a kind of bridge, but such a broken one for them, that, though it seems to enable them to cross the river, it is likely to plunge them only more dangerously into it. If the Council of Constance had not the authority it claims, what becomes of the popedom? They have no right to call any one a Pope; there is no legitimate Pope at all, for the council deposed John XXIII and chose Martin V, besides setting aside the two anti-Popes. They have no Popes but those who derive their authority from the Council of Constance. They scarcely recognize the authority of the Council of Constance; but if it be not a council, the popedom has no legitimate foundation at all. John XXIII confirmed expressly its decrees before he was deposed, whatever his confirmation was worth. Martin V, though he avoided making any reformation in his court, yet owned the council expressly as a general council. And the famous decree and the setting aside of the Pope were decided in the sessions, so that the decree was confirmed by John XXIII before he was deposed, and by Martin V when he was made Pope. This decree declares that every one, even the Pope, is bound to obey the council, and threatens punishment to the Pope if he does not.

XVII. THE COUNCIL OF BASLE AND FERRARA-FLORENCE— 1431-1442.

The Council of Constance was the reaction of the universal conscience of Christendom against the state to

which the wickedness of the Popes had reduced the Church. The Council of Constance had decreed that another council should be held at Pavia. Martin called it. It was removed, on account of the plague, to Sienna; hence, few were there. However, they began to reform, and the Pope ordered the closing of the council. The prelates protested; it was not to be considered broken up, it would be continued. Basle was the place chosen, the council to be held in seven years. It was held, but soon began to be refractory against the Pope. They renewed the two decrees of Constance, subjecting the Pope to a council, word for word, and declared they could not be dissolved. This was in the second session. The Pope decreed their dissolution; they rejected it and summoned him. The Pope was in great trouble, by his local wars, and sent legates to say he recognized them as a general council, legitimately continued from the time they had commenced. They received the legates on condition that they swore they approved the decrees of the Council of Constance as to the authority of a general council. The Pope Eugene decreed the removal of the Council of Ferrara. The council declared the decree of a removal void. The Pope, however, began at Ferrara with some of his own Italian bishops, the Council of Basle remaining where it was. The Council of Basle deposed Pope Eugene after long delay,—the princes seeking some way of peace,—and chose another,—Felix V. The princes remained neutral, and when the Popes censured each other, received the decrees of neither, though many held to the Council of Basle as a legitimate general council, as France and England, and would not own that of Ferrara, and sought to transfer it elsewhere. To this the prelates of Basle agreed. Felix went to Lausanne. Gradually the interests

of Eugene gained the upper hand. Eugene's council, already transferred to Florence, was moved to Rome. The Council of Basle dissolved itself, calling a future council at Lyons or Lausanne. Felix and Eugene remained Popes. Eugene died; and Nicolas V, at the instance of the princes, agreed, if Felix gave up the papacy, to revoke all censures against him and those engaged in the Council of Basle; confirm all its other acts, as well as those of Florence, and make Felix first cardinal and perpetual legate in Germany; and this was accordingly done. Felix, on his part, revoked all his censures and resigned, and thus this schism terminated.

XVIII. THE FIFTH LATERAN COUNCIL—1512-1517.

From 1460 to 1515 the Councils of Constance and Basle were forgotten. The Roman clergy were delivered from subjection to secular authority, and in the Fifth Lateran Council it was ruled "the laity have no jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons." The council confirmed the decrees issued by Innocent III, at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, that no ecclesiastic should take an oath of fealty to secular princes. It was declared that the Pope had full authority over councils, and could summon, suspend, or dissolve them at his pleasure. The Councils of Constance and Basle had pronounced a council to be above the Pope. France held to this principle in what are called the Gallican liberties. Intelligence was increased, the royal power much greater, by the decay of the feudal system, and the Popes could not play off one prince against another, as they had. They sought to aggrandize their families in Italy. One (for Popes an honest Pope) declared it was impossible to be one, and save your soul. He had been a stickler for the Council of Basle, but

condemned when Pope; appealed to a general council, for these were becoming universal, but he soon died. Paul II undid all he had attempted to do in the way of reform. The Cardinal Antonio Pucci said before the council: "Rome, the Roman prelates, and the bishops daily sent forth from Rome, are the joint causes of the manifold errors and corruptions in the Church. Unless we recover our good fame, which is almost wholly lost, it is all up with us."¹ And in the Fifth Lateran Council, Bishop Matthias Ugoni describes in his work the contempt the bishops had sunk into, so that there was no infamy men did not attribute to them, while they repelled with scorn any one who so much as hinted at the need of reform and of a true council, as disturbers of peace, and hypocrites.

XIX. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT—1545-1563.

The Popes became so wicked and so oppressive and despicable that the clergy at large, in a general council, deposed two of them at Pisa, electing a third, and, as the two did not yield, had three, and then succeeded in deposing all and naming one at the Council of Constance; but he avoided the reformation demanded, and, forced by circumstances, his successor was obliged to yield and hold another council at Basle. The Council of Basle made many reforms; and then the Pope, alarmed, called the council, first to Ferrara, then to Florence; the council deposed him and named another, and at last, both being tired, and the succeeding Pope conciliatory, he confirmed the decrees of Basle and Florence, and the anti-Pope

¹ Rome or Babylon, *eius que in colas pastores, qui quotidie per universum terrarum orbem anoniarium saluti preficuntur tantorum causam errorum.*"—Antonio Pucci, Cardinal; Conc. XIV, 240.

resigned. Since then, at the Fifth Lateran Council and the Council of Trent, and up to the Reformation, the Popes had it pretty much their own way; but their excessive wickedness destroyed respect for them, and the last Pope before the Reformation poisoned himself in seeking to poison his cardinals, to get their money. The Popes, plunging into such wickedness and oppression, roused the clergy, supported by the princes of Europe, to seek to assert the superiority of a council over them, which they confirmed because they could not help it, and evaded as soon as the councils were over. At last, their wickedness, and especially their sale of indulgences, which was really selling permission to sin, brought about the Reformation,—that is, the breaking loose of half Western Europe from their sway, Eastern Europe having never been under it. This brought on the Council of Trent, which fixed the Romanist deeper in error than ever; gave a deeper character of apostasy from the truth to the Romish Church, and left the separation of Northern Europe where it was. The Council of Trent confirmed the Adoration of the Host, Auricular Confession, Priestly Absolution, Holy Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony. But the Council of Trent failed to decree any reformation; and the selling of pardons, in the grossest way, to get money to build the cathedral at Rome, and the abominations were such, that God, arousing not princes nor the hierarchy, but simple individuals, brought about the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland.

XX. THE VATICAN COUNCIL—1869-1870.

We have seen that general councils were always called and presided over by the emperor, as long as the East

had any part in them, and that Popes and councils have striven for authority when they were called and presided over by Popes, but the Vatican Council put an end to this strife by decreeing the Personal Infallibility of Pope Pius IX. Since the Council of Trent, over three centuries had elapsed before the Vatican Council was convened in Rome, presided over by Pope Pius IX. It was the most solemn, marvellous, and imposing council ever held in the history of the Roman Church. It was the largest council ever witnessed in Rome, and its pageant was presented with all the pomp and ritual of the Catholic Church. The magnificence of the ceremony, and the important dogma to be decreed, called together seven hundred and sixty-four prelates,¹ forty-nine cardinals, ten patriarchs, four primates, one hundred and five diocesan archbishops, twenty-two archbishops in *partibus*, four hundred and twenty-four diocesan bishops, ninety-eight bishops in *partibus*, and fifty-two abbots and generals of Monastic orders.² The Vatican Council aimed to destroy the civilization and progress of the Nineteenth century that threatened the foundation of the Roman Church, as the Council of Trent aimed to check the movements of the

¹ The number entitled to a seat in a General Council is 1,037. (1) Eminentissimi et reverendissimi Domini Rom. Cardinals; (2) ordinis Episcoporum, (3) ordinis Presbyterorum, (4) ordinis Diaconorum, 51; (2) Reverendissimi Domini Patriarchi, 11; (3) Reverendissimi Domini Primates, 10; (4) Reverendissimi Domini Archiepiscopi, 166; (5) Reverendissimi Domini Episcopi, 740; (6) Abbates nullius dioceseos, 6; (7) Abbates Generales ordinum monasticorum, 23; (8) Generales et Vicarii Generales, 29.

² There were some fourteen nations represented in the Council:— Italy, 246; France, 84; Austria and Hungary, 48; Spain, 41; Germany, 19; Great Britain, 35; United States, 48; Mexico, 10; Switzerland, 8; Belgium, 6; Holland, 4; Portugal, 2; Russia, 1.

Protestant reformers of the Sixteenth century. The council convened December 8, 1869, in the Basilica of the Vatican, and confirmed, first, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary;¹ second, the Quanta Curia, or the papal protest against modern progress and civilization;² and, thirdly, decreed the new dogma of the Personal Infallibility of the Pope. There were two documents before the council,—one from Pio Nono, "Sumus Doctorus," and one from the bishops, "Supremus Pastor." The prelates Darboy, of Paris; Matthieu, of Besançon; Ginoulhiac, of Lyons; Dupanloup, of Orleans; Ketteler, of Mayence; Hefele, of Rottenburg; Scherr, of Munich; Forster, of Breslau; Simon, of Hungary; Rauscher, of Vienna; Schwarzenburg, of Prague; Strossmayer, of Bosnia; Haynald, of Kalocsa; MacHale, of Ireland; Connolly, of Nova Scotia, and Kenrick, of the United States, thought the Pope with the council might be accepted as infallible, and objected to personal infallibility; but the placet of the majority decided the matter, and the following dogma received the sanction of the council: "Wherefore we, adhering faithfully to the traditions of the Christian faith

¹ "Satisfacturi propterea communi desiderio jam nunc nuncianus, futurum quando cunque Concilium sub auspiis Dieparæ Virginis ab omni labe immunis esse constituendum, et eo aperiendum die, quo insignis hujus privilegii ipsi collati memoria recolitur."

² (1) Pantheismus, Naturalismus, et Rationalismus Absolutus; (2) Rationalismus Moneratus; (3) Indifferentismus Latitudinarismus; (4) Socialismus, Communismus, Societas Clandestinæ, Societas Biblices, Societas Clerico-Liberales; (5) Errores de Ecclesia Ejusque Juribus; (6) Errores de Societate Civilitum in Se, Tum in Suis ad Ecclesiam Relationibus Spectata; (7) Errores de Ethica Naturali et Christiana; (8) Errores de Matrimonio Christiano; (9) Errores de Civili Romani Pontificis Principatu; (10) Errores Qui ad Liberalismum Hodiernum Referuntur.

as we have inherited them, to the glory of God our Saviour, to the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and to the salvation of the Christian peoples, with the approval of the Sacred Council, teach and define it to be a dogma of divine revelation, that the Roman Pontiff, when speaking *ex cathedra*, that is, as pastor and teacher of all Christians, he defines any doctrine concerning faith and morals as necessary to be held by the universal Church, has promised to him, by the divine assistance in the person of St. Peter, that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed his Church should be provided in defining a doctrine of faith and morals.”¹

The great work of the Vatican Council was its decree of Papal Infallibility. It met the differences that existed between Ultramontanism and Gallicanism, which lay at the very foundation of papal authority; it did away with the independence of the episcopate, and made it obedient to the primacy; it destroyed liberalism and rationalism in the Roman Church; it perfected the system of papal supremacy, and it made the doubtful theory of Papal Infallibility an essential article of faith, essential to the salvation of every Roman Catholic.

¹ “Itaque nos traditioni a fidei Christianæ exordio perceptæ fideliter inherendo. Ad Dei Salvatoris nostra gloriam, religionis Catholicæ—exactationem, et Christianorum populorum salutem sacro approbante Concilio, docemus, et divinitatis revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, cum ex cathedra loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris Munere fungens, pro supra sua apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam ipsi in Beato Petro permissam ea Infallibilitate pallere qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit.”

CHAPTER VIII.

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY AND EX CATHEDRA.

HE first Popes or bishops have always been held in great horror. The heathen emperors ruled then; any prominence they might have only exposed them to persecution. It is said that Popes Cletus, Clement, Evaristus (100), Alexander (110), Sixtus (116), and Telesphorus (128), were martyrs. This was the bright time for the Roman Pontiffs, but the Roman bishops, under the eye of the Roman authorities and a bigoted populace, had a large share of the persecution of those times. But afterwards the Roman bishops were not the persecuted, but the persecutors. Superstition and heresy began to invade the Roman Church under the next Pope, Hyginus (138). In his successor's time, Pope Pius (142), the superstition increased. Hermas, his brother, with whom he is said to have been intimate, wrote pretended visions, full of the worst practice and the worst doctrines, and even blasphemies.¹ In his time arose the dispute of the East with Rome, as to

¹ Hermas is quoted by the book of Roman Pontiffs,—if it be the same,—and the angelic visitation treated as true. Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and others say he is the one mentioned by Paul, which is merely a mistake. His book is treated as excellent by Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius and Origen, who says some did not value it; Clemens, Alexandrinus, Tertullian when orthodox and Catholic, but

the observance of Easter. The East, alleging the Apostle's authority, kept it on the 14th of the month. Pope Victor (185) would have it on the first day of the week, and take the next one to the 14th. Polycarp had come to make peace during the time of Pope Anicetus (151), but Victor refused communion with all the East, and it remained in abeyance till the Council of Nice (325), which decided it should be on the first day of the week. So the day of the week carried it against the day of the month, and the Church was not divided in spite of Victor. It is a curious piece of history, that the Scotch, Irish, and English churches kept Easter as the Asiatics did, and it was centuries after, in 664, that the Roman practice prevailed, after a conference in the north of England. It was the Scotch churches of Iona who were not subject to any bishop, but governed by presbyters, who evangelized Germany and Switzerland, and the North, so far as it was done in early years, but it fell under the power of centralizing Rome. The Saxons were evangelized from Rome, and the Normans, already in subjection to Rome. But it was from the time of Cyprian only that Rome obtained the title of Peter's Chair. Baronius gives twenty-five years of Peter's holding the See of Rome,¹ but all early authors make Linus the first bishop. The first author who makes him bishop is Optatis

denounced when a Montanist; Athanasius says it is a most useful book; Jerome, following Eusebius, very useful and publicly read in the churches of Greece, but not known among the Latins. Ruffinus says they had it read in churches, but not quoted as authority to establish faith.

¹ It is a remarkable fact, that Papal Infallibility and all ecclesiastical authority refers itself to Peter; the See is Peter's See, and the authority is founded on him.

(*De Schis. Don., Lib. II, 33*) in the latter part of the Fourth century. Eusebius simply says that Linus was the first bishop after Peter. He may, perhaps, be considered an earlier testimony than Optatis. They were nearly contemporaneous, and Optatis is the first who explicitly states it. That Peter was twenty-five years Bishop of Rome is a simple absurdity; because (Christ suffered in 34) he was in Jerusalem in 49; in Antioch in 56 or 57; and thus he could not by any possibility have been Pope of Rome till about eleven years before his death, 68 or 69, in the time of Nero. The whole thing is a fable upon the face of it; and yet it is from this date in the history of Roman Pontiffs at which it is first called the Chair of Peter, or Peter, Bishop of Rome, and which is the foundation of Papal Infallibility. It is said by Roman Catholic theologians, that the Pope's authoritative decision on matters of faith or infallibility is in the Pope and the whole Church; the consent of the Church universal with the Pope; or the Pope and the whole Church represented in a general council; or the Pope speaking ex cathedra.

THE CONSENT OF THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL WITH THE POPE.

As a source of infallibility, the common consent of the Church failed very early in the Church's history. In a very large portion of the Church, if subject to their bishops, they must have differed from the Pope. In the case of the Donatists, the African bishops applied to the Emperor Constantine, and the civil (not infallible) authority interfered to settle it. When the emperor turned Christian, so servile was the Pope, that he, for a time, was the true Pope. And when Constantine called councils and regulated every thing, he was not even baptized; was so

only on his death-bed, to be sure to be clear of his sins. The emperors after Constantine became Christian, in profession; and when the actual emperor was Arian, all the bishops, save a few banished ones, and the Popes were Arian. However, Pope Liberius at first was not, but at last gave way to the emperor, and signed an heretical creed. Liberius returned from exile,—brought back at the intercession of Roman ladies. The emperor wanted both him and Felix to be bishops together, but Felix was driven out by the people. However, he got back again and sought to exercise clerical functions in the city, but was again driven out, and lived on his own estate. He ordained twenty-one presbyters and nineteen bishops. Was he infallible, or not? What was the infallibility worth here,—two Popes at a time, and one part of the Church holding him to be Pope, and the other not. But this state of things was not changed for the better with the death of Liberius. Damasus, who was chosen to succeed him, had been of Felix' party. This dissatisfied many, and they met and chose Ursinus, who was consecrated, too. The See of Rome was worth coveting by men who loved ease and luxury. Fine chariots, rich feasts, and regal luxury characterized their life. This is not only the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, but Jerome informs us that Prætextatus, a Roman proconsul and of high family, when no longer proconsul, said that if they would make him Bishop of Rome, he would turn Christian directly. Well, there was fighting among the people of Rome as to who should be Pope. Juvenitius, Prefect of Rome, and Julian, Prefect of Provisions, banished Ursinus' party, shut themselves up in a church of Licinus, where he had been consecrated; and they were attacked there, and one hundred and thirty-seven persons

were found killed in the church. The prefect, unable to appease the tumultuary violence, had to go to the country. Ursinus was banished again, and Damasus could amass wealth and leave costly silver vessels to the Church at his death. Ursinus then tried again, but the people would not have him, and Siricius was chosen. And how can any one soberly think that securing power in an office that vied with royalty by fighting and slaughter that magistrates could not stop, is a security in matters of faith and a mark of Papal Infallibility? This closed the Fourth century.

In the beginning of the Fifth century, the greater part of the clergy and people chose Boniface, and the other part the Archdeacon Eudalius, who was consecrated by the prelate of the See of Ostia, who always regularly consecrated the new pontiff. Boniface was consecrated by others. The prefect wrote to the emperor in favor of Eudalius, who convoked a number of bishops to decide, but there was great division. On a fuller report of the prefect, who said neither was to be trusted, both Boniface and Eudalius had to stay outside of Rome, and sent another prelate of neither party to celebrate Easter, which was just going on. Boniface had tried to get in, but was, after first driving back the civil officers, driven back by a larger number of them. Eudalius got in and would not leave, on being warned; but Boniface's friends, armed, attacked Eudalius', who were not. The emperor banished the latter for being in the city against orders, and let Boniface have the See. There were the usual tumults and battery and violence on either side. What kind of infallibility is this? But towards the end of the same century the difficulty is still greater, and the Church is still divided against the Pope. Symmachus and Laurentius

were both elected Popes the same day. Some of the clergy and the people communicated with Symmachus and some with Laurentius. The king decided in favor of Symmachus, and so he remained Pope. King Athelric appointed Boniface II to be Pope, but a majority of the Roman people, wishing to have a Pope of their own, chose Dioscurus, and both were consecrated. But Boniface was obliged to use every effort to reduce the clergy to subjection, and was never rightly and canonically Pope by the consent of the Church, and, therefore, infallibility failed.

After the short pontificates of John II and Agapetus, we arrive at a case in which all pretense of infallibility fails. The Emperor of Constantinople was, by means of Belisarius, engaged in the reconquest of Italy, and the king of the Goths, Theodotus, distrustful of influences not his own at Rome. The clergy met to elect a Pope, but he would not allow them to elect the one they desired, but obliged them, under penalty of death, to establish his nominee Pope, which they did. Baronius speaks of their wisdom and divine guidance and approbation, that they all consented to nominate Silverius, whom Theodotus had forced upon them. He was charged with bribing the king, to have him made Pope. It is also said this was a calumny. It is possible; things were in such a state that they were as capable of false accusation as he of bribery. It is the statement of the historian, Anastasius. But he was a Pope,—supposed to be infallible. The Goths had returned to besiege Rome; Silverius was accused of treachery with the Goths. They at last raised the siege, and Silverius was banished by Belisarius to Patara, Lycia, who took off his vestments and made the clergy elect Vigilius, and Vigilius sat as Pope. Silverius

went to the emperor, who sent him back to Rome, saying, if he had engaged in treacherous correspondence with the Goths, he was not to be reinstated; but if innocent, he should be. But Belisarius delivered him up to Vigilius, and he was sent off to the island of Pontecune, where he died, Vigilius remaining Pope. This is the Pope who had to do with the emperor, and condemned and retracted, and retracted his retraction, and at last was let go by the emperor. Vigilius died, and Pelagius was accused of poisoning him, and could only get two out of the prelates of Italy to consecrate him; all the rest refused. But he purged himself, on oath, and was the next Pope. This is nice work to secure faith in the Pope and give a sure mark to the simple of Papal Infallibility. And why the Bishop of Ostia (who was the regular person to do it), laying his hands on a man chosen to be Peter's successor at Rome, should convey authority from Peter, it is hard to tell. If Peter had done so, and then his successor, or his successor before his death, and so on (I might not believe it), I could understand it; but it is not so. As the case is, the Pope, who consecrates ever so many prelates, never confers Peter's authority; and a prelate, who has it not, nor any pretension to it, confers it on the Pope. Infallibility here—there is none!

THE POPE AND THE WHOLE CHURCH REPRESENTED IN A GENERAL COUNCIL.

The history of councils proves that the Pope of Rome is not an infallible guide in matters of faith and morals. *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est,* is not sustained by history. The history of Arianism clearly proves that this is not so, and that the Pope can not be trusted. What becomes of the rule what was

always, everywhere, and by all, in the case of image-worship? Is it not true that for centuries there were none? The great dogmatist, Petavius, admits that none were used for four hundred years, and gives as a reason that there was danger of their being confounded with the heathens; but that in the Fifth, when Rome got her liberty, she began to have them openly. Epiphanius, finding an image on a curtain in church, tore it with his own hands. He charges their introduction on heretics, as does Augustine, and declares that the Church condemns such habits. The Council of Eliberius, in Spain, 305, decreed that pictures ought not to be in churches. For a length of time they were rejected in the East, and insisted by the Popes; solemnly in a council of three hundred and thirty-eight prelates at Constantinople in 754; approved by a council of three hundred and fifty, in 787; and condemned in England in 792.

How are we to learn any thing certain from the consent of councils, or hold what is held always, everywhere, and by all? These are only examples on the most important points of doctrine and practice. The truth is, that for some hundred years, from the Third to the Seventh centuries, there was an endless war of opinions, and the emperors tried to keep the peace by their own decrees, or by convening councils. Then, if we come down lower, after bitter and prolonged conflict and mutual excommunication, the Greek and Roman, or Eastern and Western, Christendom finally separated in the Tenth century, and all the most ancient councils condemn the Pope. And where can we get infallibility with the Pope and the whole Church represented in council?

Passing over John III, Benedict, Pelagius II, Gregory (a really great man, who just hints at the possibility of

a Purgatory for extremely small faults, and who reformed or composed the Roman liturgy), Sabinianus, and others, and come to Honorius, in the Seventh century, where we meet a difficulty of another kind. Honorius, so far from keeping the faith of others, could not, it seems, keep the faith himself. He was formally condemned and anathematized by name in the third Council of Constantinople, confirmed by Pope Agathon, and anathematized again by Pope Leo II,¹ whence it is formally taught in canon law that the Pope can be judged for heresy. Pope Stephen ordained in his council that only the clergy should elect, and the people then salute him; that images should be adored,—which was forbidden at Constantinople by a very numerous council, and by a still larger one under Charlemagne, at Frankfort, of several hundred bishops. They condemned images in the strongest terms, but the adorations and superstitions prevailed. King Pepin gave titles to the clergy, and Charlemagne issued orders for the regulation of the Church and clergy. The Pope's legates were at the Council of Frankfort, where a late cosmopolitan council, which restored the use of images, presided over by the Pope's legates and received by him, was utterly rejected. This was somewhat later, in 794. Octavian or John XII first led his troops to war against the Duke of Capua, but was forced to make peace. He wrote to the emperor to deliver him from the violence of the chiefs in Italy. He swore allegiance on the bodies of Peter and Paul, that he would never in any way help the rebellious chiefs, Adel-

¹ It is expressly taught (*Dis. xl, c. 6*) that a Pope can be judged for heresy; and in the gloss also if he is incorrigible and the Church scandalized, for evident crimes, because contumacy is heresy; but that the Church should pray against it much, as its salvation so depends on the Pope.

bert and Bereuges; but no sooner was the emperor's back turned than he joined Adelbert. The emperor, the prelate of Germany who came with him to Rome, and nearly all those of Italy met in council. The Pope's misdeeds were publicly stated: he consecrated bishops for money (had made one of ten years old), drank wine in honor of the devil, invoked in gambling Jupiter and Venus and other demons, was guilty of incest with his own relations and with two sisters, and with various cruelties caused the death of persons that were named. The council deposed him, and chose Leo VIII, who sat as Pope more than a year. Eighty-five prelates or clergy of Rome were assembled in councils, besides Roman nobles. Pope John returned, held a council of twelve bishops, of the Papal States chiefly, and twelve of the clergy of Rome, deposed Leo, who saved himself by flight, broke all his ordinations, perpetrated brutal acts against some who had borne testimony against him, and some three months after, being found committing adultery outside Rome, was killed by the husband,—by the devil, if we believe Luitprand; and this is infallibility of the Pope, with the Church represented in council!

The emperor, tired of all these things, finally transferred the right of electing the Pope from the prelates and councils to the emperor. Gregory VII, the most able and ambitious of all the Popes, had governed Rome, and was seated in the papacy, before his predecessor was buried, some say by soldiers and a host devoted to him; some say the cardinals and people had their part. He sent to the emperor, to say it had been done without his will. He pushed the power of the Pope to absolute dominion over every thing. The emperor, Henry, struggled against his power, and councils were held in Germany.

In the Council of Bresse, Gregory was deposed, and another chosen, who took the name of Clement III. William, king of England, alone effectively resisted him; suffered his legates to hold no councils, nor the English and Norman prelates to go to Rome. It was this Gregory who laid the foundation of Roman pretensions,—the pride and the shame of the papacy. France, England, and part of Italy owned Alexander III as Pope, but Germany owned Octavian. Both had referred to the emperor to have it decided, who summoned a local council in Italy to decide who had right. Alexander would not go. Octavian did. The council decided in favor of Octavian, who called himself Victor III. The English and the French, though having long hesitated to pronounce because of the emperor, held also local councils, who supported Alexander, and the French councils excommunicated Victor III. The emperor convened a council in Germany, having letters from Denmark, Norway, Hungary, Bohemia, and many prelates besides those present, and then Alexander was excommunicated. Frederick, the emperor, proposed putting both down, and the French and English kings met him to settle it. Alexander would not go, and nothing was settled; then Alexander held a French council and excommunicated Victor and all his adherents. Now, it is difficult to say who was canonical Pope, but we have half of Christendom owning one whom the Romanists do not own, and the sacraments and the ordinations and councils in a vast extent of country depended on his being real Pope. If ever there was a thing disproved, it is what is ridiculously called Papal Infallibility. If we are to believe the Council of Pavia, where were fifty archbishops and other prelates, with a quantity of abbots of Germany and Italy,

and the deputies of France and England, after seven days' examination of witnesses and deliberations, Victor III alone was duly elected and made Pope. The majority of the cardinals were for Alexander, but the senators were for Victor, and they put Alexander in prison; but he escaped by the intervention of the people.

When Gregory XI died at Rome, the Romans insisted on an Italian prelate being made Pope, and attacked the conclave, so that the cardinals were in fear of their lives. The great number of them were French, but of these many were of the country of Limoges, so that they did not act together, as these wanted one of their party, the other Frenchmen not. There were only four Italian cardinals. It is said that one was made to put his head out of the window, to tell the people to go to St. Peter's, which was taken by the people to mean that they had elected the cardinal of St. Peter's. Meanwhile it was proposed to elect the Archbishop of Bari, who at any rate was an Italian, but not a cardinal; the French party say he was only elected to pacify the people, with the understanding that he was not to take the papacy, the choice being only made under the influence of fear of the populace, and hence having no validity, and so afterwards they certified the King of France.

The Italian party, while not denying the clamors and violence, but making them arise later in the affair, insisted that the election was regular and valid. Fleury's account gives this color to it. Raynaldus, of course, insists that it was free, and urges that the people's leaders went to the window and insisted it should be a Roman, and that the choice of one not a Roman proved that they were free. Some would have made the cardinal of St. Pierre Pope, but he disclaimed it, and the Archbishop

of Bari was crowned and enthroned in the midst of these tumults. He took the name of Urban VI. But the cardinals were not content, and under pretext of the hot weather, went to Anagni, and there they chose one of their own body, who became Pope also, under the name of Clement VII, who removed to Avignon. The cardinals sent a long account to the King of France, who assembled prelates and doctors; but not satisfied with this, sent ambassadors to Italy to ascertain the facts, and, on their report, owned Clement to be the true Pope. Spain, after some time, owned him, too. Urban was occupied with politics and fighting in Italy, but he succeeded in maintaining himself as Pope there, and putting down the Clementines tolerably completely, though Jeanne, Queen of Naples, was for Clement, but she lost her kingdom and her life. England and Germany were for Urban, Scotland for Clement, Northern Europe for Urban, but Lorraine, Savoy, and other provinces for Clement. Each Pope condemned and excommunicated the other and his councils. Both consecrated prelates and clergy, so that the idea of securing infallibility and maintaining the Pope in council by it is a simple absurdity.

If Urban (as Raynaldus and Platina would have it) was Pope, then all France and Spain and other countries were excommunicated out of the pale of the Church, and all their orders invalid, and all they conferred on others null and void. Contemporaries state that the people forced their way into the court of the palace of the council, into which they had been driven with threats by the populace. Bundles of rice-stalks were laid under it to set it on fire, and they threatened to cut down the cardinals if they did not choose a Roman. The heads of that district of Rome came and told them that they must do

as the people required, or they would suffer violence. The Archbishop of Bari had been previously in consultation with the cardinals, and though an Italian, being opposed to the Romans, the cardinals thought he would go with them in their views, and was then chosen in a hurry, as it was thought he would reject it. If so, the temptation was too great. This account seems pretty well authenticated. The Italian cardinals, three at least out of the four, joined the rest at Anagni, where they went, and then to Fondi, to be secure to choose Clement VII.

The fullest and clearest account of the proceedings of the council, is the first life of Gregory XI, in Balergius, pages 443 and following. Before the council met, according to this account, the Romans had driven the upper orders out of Rome, and introduced a mass of rough countrymen; took possession, that the cardinals might not leave, and when they met, broke in with them. The Bandarense chiefs of the twelve districts had warned them before, individually, and on going into the council assembled them, and said they must elect a Roman, or at least an Italian, or meet with worse; and the mob filled the palace and room under the hall of the council with weapons and dry reeds, and all night rioted there, vociferating while they were saying the Mass of the Holy Ghost. The cardinals sent the three deans, or chiefs of the three classes of cardinals, the people having insisted on the windows being opened, in the hope of calming them, but in vain, and a second time; but the people raged violently at the doors, insisting on the nomination of a Roman or Italian. They thus chose Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari, as he had been present at the Roman consultations to force the choice of a Roman, was a doctor of canon

law, and was supposed to be upright. They supposed he would give it up when elected, and there was calm. For the same reason, they had to go through with and crown and enthrone him. The account is by one who favored Clement, but it all hangs perfectly well together, and the main points certain. That they were forced by the populace against their inclination is certain, for they would have desired to go to Avignon. But whether it was sufficient to annul the election of the council is another question. Cardinal Cajetan, *Orde Vio*, legate to Germany about Luther, reprobates those who consider either obedience, so-called, schismatic; declaring that the right of each had been and was doubtful; and what was positive on the point is, that both were deposed as Popes from the papacy, and Martin V confirmed the decree of the Council of Constance, which, by deposing both, recognized both. In this the people will follow their ancestors or prelates.

This is a strange certainty of infallibility; so uncertain that nobody was bound to say which was true, which, according to the famous Dominican, was contrary to, was necessary to, salvation; for men were bound to believe there was only one. Much was done by the princes of Europe to put an end to the schism and to get Popes Boniface at Rome (Pope after Urban), and Benedict at Avignon, to abdicate. France withdrew its obedience, and then Castile, to the Pope at Avignon, but rejected Boniface at Rome. Benedict, at Avignon, was besieged by France, and agreed to abdicate on the Roman Pope doing so. Boniface refused, but would appear before a council. England supported Boniface. Innocent VII followed Boniface at Rome; Benedict had sent an embassy to Rome, proposing the abdication of both; Innocent proposed a

council and the cession of the papacy by the Pope. Gregory XII succeeded Innocent; Benedict proposed council and refused cession, excommunicating those who approved it; the King of France burned the bull; Benedict fled to Genoa, then to Perpignan. Gregory was elected under promise to resign if union could be effected; Benedict protested the same thing. At last the cardinals of both sides met at the Council of Pisa, and then at the Council of Leghorn, and sent a circular-letter, proposing a council as the only means, as the Popes would not yield, and there was such exceeding difficulty as to law and as to fact; and they blame both Popes, as running the Church, and so did the council, going into all the facts, and charging them with bad faith and even collusion. Finally they depose both; take off the excommunications of both, as it was so doubtful who was Pope, and choose Peter of Candia (Alexander V), who confirmed all their acts.

But Gregory, who kept the south of Italy, and Robert, King of the Romans, and his partisans, and Benedict XIII, who still held fast hold of Spain, kept their ground. Each held a so-called general council, Benedict having one hundred and twenty prelates, but who would come to no conclusion; and sixteen only remained, who decreed he was Pope and was not to yield. Gregory held a council, but could scarce get any one to come, and fled, through fear of the Venetians, and went to the south of Italy. Each of these condemn the Council of Pisa and their Pope, and each other. The Council of Pisa deposed the two as schismatic, heretic, and as guilty of other crimes,—all the cardinals of both obediences being there save one. A new council was to be held. Now there were three Popes; two doubtful and deposed, and a third

chosen, but it was alleged unlawfully. And this is so much the case that the highest Roman Catholic authorities are not agreed who was Pope. Raynaldus counts Gregory as Pope all the time, till he gave up at the Council of Constance. Bellarmine says Alexander V must be owned, as the next was Alexander VI. Belthasar Cossa was the leader in the affairs of the Council of Pisa, but would not be Pope, but got Alexander V elected, and governed under him, and then became Pope at his death.

One reason Bellarmine gives for the authority of the council is, that a doubtful Pope is no Pope. Now, in such a state of things, how can we speak of infallibility in Pope and council? The Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle professedly deposed Popes,—the two former finally succeeding, the latter not, while the latter pronounced a council to be superior to the Pope. The Council of Constance confirmed the acts of the Council of Pisa, so that we have the authority of the episcopacy as to the wickedness, heresy, and deposition of both Popes engaged in the schism; but it consulted without John, and when he fled because of the charges brought against him, they deposed him. The Vatican Council is in conflict with all the early councils which had no Pope, and all those councils which condemned Popes as heretics, and those councils which deposed Popes,—in proclaiming the infallibility of Pope Pius IX. The Council of Nice condemned Arius, and that of Constantinople absolved him; the Council of Constantinople condemned the Councils of Nice and Chalcedon, and the Lateran condemned Basle; the Council of Constantinople declared the elements in the Eucharist images of Christ's body in heaven; Councils of Lateran and Trent pronounced the fullest transubstantiation; the Councils of Constantinople and Basle asserted

that councils were superior to the Pope; the Lateran Council opposed the claim; and the Vatican Council proclaimed the worst heresy of all—the Personal Infallibility of the Pope.

THE POPE SPEAKING EX CATHEDRA.

We will now turn to the other means of infallibility (infallible knowledge) in matters of faith and morals. It is not possible to think of the first Popes, whoever they were, for this is uncertain, as the authorized sources of truth; and if the first chiefs had not this authority, its descending to others is all a fiction. But the case of the Popes goes further, and without multiplying cases, which would carry us too far, there are the plain cases of Marcellinus, who was a traditor—that is, gave up the Scriptures in persecution and offered incense to the gods; Honorius, who was publicly condemned for being a Monothelite (believing that Christ had but one will), by the Sixth General Council, confirmed by the Pope; Pope Liberius, who signed a semi-Arian creed. These we will notice a little more fully. First, then, there is the case of Marcellinus, who, when Pope, offered to idols and apostatized from Christ. Bellarmine says he taught nothing against the faith nor heretical. But where is the security for infallibility? Bellarmine tells us it is not of much consequence if he lost the papacy by it, as he abdicated soon after and died a martyr. The poor man's weakness may have been graciously forgiven, but we are looking for infallibility and security for faith. It is easy to understand Bellarmine's motive for making it no matter, because either there would have been an apostate Pope, or one deposed by a local council for unfaithfulness. But a worshipper of idols is a strange security in matters of faith and morals.

Next, as to Pope Vigilius, in the dispute about what are called the "three chapters," two of which were sanctioned by the great General Council of Chalcedon. In truth, Vigilius was elevated to the See of Rome on purpose to favor Monophysite heresy (maintaining that Christ had but one nature) and restore Anthinus, the heretic, to the See of Constantinople, the empress putting him in by force. When once in, he turned right round, but quailed before the emperor as soon as he got to Constantinople, and intrigued in vain. Then he condemned the three chapters, as the emperor had done. Then, when the Fifth General Council was called, though at Constantinople, he defended the three chapters. The Council of Constantinople broke communion with him, and approved the emperor's condemnation of the three chapters; and Vigilius, the following year, assented to the decrees of the council, and his successor, Pelagius I, acknowledged the orthodoxy of the council.

Where is the security for faith anywhere? The Pope, *ex cathedra* (officially, from the chair), condemned, approved, and then condemned the same doctrine,—what all held to be a vital question as to the person of Christ. Bellarmine does not contest the letter given by Liberatus, but Baronius does. The facts are plain any way. Pagi adds, in a note, that there can be no doubt of it. "Still," he adds, "that it does not prejudice the Pope's authority, because Silverius was not dead, though deposed, so that Vigilius was not really Pope,"—a nice security for faith; a Pope who could not act because he was deposed, and an acting one whose acts, though consecrated, were not valid, because the other was living! Baronius excuses his undoubted heresies on the ground that he was not Pope because the banished Silverius was alive. What a founda-

tion for faith! He acted as Pope while Silverius, who had been banished, still lived, and so some say was legitimate Pope. What was the validity of all the papal acts? It is a plain example that the Pope's judgment, *ex cathedra*, is just worth nothing at all.

But, take another example. It can not be denied that Pope Liberius acquiesced in Arianism. He subscribed an Arian creed, and in the largest council ever held (except the Vatican), of some eight hundred prelates, and communicated with Arius and condemned Athanasius. Bellarmine says he was deceived by ambiguous terms, but if he was he was no security for faith. The truth is, he did it to free himself from the persecution of an Arian emperor, who sought to unite all by vague expressions. But if Bellarmine is right, and he was deceived, it is just the proof that the Pope is no security for faith, nor indeed, as we have seen, a Pope and council together. To say he did not teach it, when on the solemn discussion of the question with the assembled hierarchy he signed the creed, is a miserable subterfuge. Here the Pope and the largest body of prelates ever assembled in council signed and promulgated an Arian creed.

Now turn to Honorius. Bellarmine labors hard to free him also, but then he can not deny that he was condemned and anathematized as a heretic by not one but two general councils, the Pope's legates taking part in one case. Bellarmine says they wanted to secure several Eastern patriarchs being anathematized, and so, that they might succeed, threw Honorius in with them. Moreover, the Pope, his successor, undertook he should be anathematized. And then, says Bellarmine, if it can not be denied in the least that the Pope was anathematized, the council made a mistake; but then the Pope's legates were there, and

it is accounted as an oecumenical council. So that either the Pope was a heretic, and he was struck out of what were called the Diptychs (those whose names were remembered in the public service) as unfit to be there, or Pope and council confirmed by him can err. There is no security for faith to be found in them, as this necessarily is one of the conditions of infallibility. I might mention a multitude of cases and statements, but I take only notorious cases, which may be found in Bellarmine, who gives a list of cases of alleged failure in infallibility, Baronius, who is not to be trusted without Pagi's corrections, and all Church histories. The African bishops maintained their views against the Pope, and the thought of infallibility did not exist then.

When we come lower down in history, the claims of the Popes increase, and their authority extends; but the effect was that all the most ancient part of the Church—that is, the East—broke off from them altogether, and remains opposed to Rome to this day. The University of Paris solemnly condemned Pope John XXII for heresy as to the state of souls after death. His history is a little pleasant. The cardinals who had to choose the Pope, several of them being ambitious, would not agree, and at last decided to leave the choice to the one who became John XXII, sure he would choose one of them; but he thought the best thing was to choose himself, and so became John XXII. The Council of Constance charged John XXIII with saying that the soul died with the body; that the soul was not immortal. Now, this shows how little infallibility was supposed to be inherent in the Pope. The Council of Basle says: "Many of the supreme pontiffs are said, and so we read, to have fallen into heresy and error. It is certain that the Pope can err. A council

has often condemned and deposed a Pope, as well on account of faith as morals." When the assembled prelates of Christendom declare that the Popes may, and have, erred in faith and morals, the infallibility of the Pope is no longer a very sure ground. Their claiming it, which, since the Vatican Council, we all know they do, does not give it to them. If the Pope be a sure foundation of faith (a thing not thought of for hundreds of years), God has given a premium to the most horrible wickedness that ever disgraced human nature; for such wickedness characterized the Popes above all men on the earth. We can not, we dare not, with any one who knows history, deny the wickedness of Popes John XXII, of Alexander VI, and many others. Even Pope Gregory VII, who built the grandeur of the papacy, raising it above the empire, and established the celibacy (that is, the corruption of the clergy), died away from his See, having been first deposed by a council of German bishops at Worms, and afterwards condemned as a heretic and sentenced to be deposed by the Council of Brixen, and a new Pope chosen (Clement III), who was consecrated at Rome. Now, I attach no authority to their council, or their Pope (though, in supporting the emperor, to whom God gave authority, against the Pope, to whom God gave none, the prelates were right); but what sort of foundation for faith and morals is all this?

I think we have settled the first point: the Pope's infallibility being the source of certainty as to faith and morals; and the second point, also: that they have confessedly erred. In proof of these we have selected cases that have been brought out in history as to the faith; for it is perfectly well known that plenty believed nothing at all. Marcellinus offered incense to idols, Liberius signed

a semi-Arian creed, and Honorius was condemned for being a Monothelite, by a general council, sanctioned by Pope Agathon. Then Pope Zosimus corrupted, artfully, the canons of the Council of Nice, to found the authority of the See of Rome, and was detected in the East and in Africa. This was a fraud, if not a heresy; but it was a fraudulently citing as the canons of the Council of Nice what were no part of them, and what was put forward as the foundation of the whole jurisdiction and authority of the Pope. The council of bishops in Africa, in which the famous St. Augustine took part, denied their genuineness; sent and got the true Greek copies in the East, and rejected Zosimus' claims; and the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, did the same thing, sending full copies of the canons of Nice. They were really the canons of the Council of Sardica, and thus attributed the resolutions of a little petty conclave of his own partisans, assembled to give him this power, to the first great general council, in order, fraudulently, to set up that authority of the See of Rome which it now claims; and Rome has ever since built largely on this fraud.

It is well to refer a little to this history as elucidating the supremacy and alleged appellative jurisdiction of Rome. Now we can trace the origin of these pretensions by going a little further back. In Cyprian's time (252) two Spanish bishops, guilty of being Libellatic (that is, having received certificates of having owned heathen idols, obtained by money from heathen magistrates, without having really done so), were deposed by a provincial synod of the country. One was readmitted to communion, but not to his See, but went to Rome and complained to Pope Stephen. The Pope, always glad, as

Popes were, to augment his authority, ordered the Spanish synod to restore both to their Sees. Meanwhile, Cyprian being everywhere known by his activity, the bishops of the synod laid the affair before him. He summoned a local council, and they declared that Stephen had evidently been deceived, and that Basilides and Martialis (the other bishop) had greatly increased their crime by appealing from the local judgment. He declares the judgment he communicated to be conformable to the understood practice of the Church. Cyprian, in every respect, maintained the independence of the Episcopate against Rome. He says: "Among us there is no one who will arrogate to himself any authority over those of his own order, or claim to be a bishop of bishops . . . inasmuch as every bishop has equal liberty of judging and determining upon all questions that come before him, and can no more be judged by, than he can judge, another. Therefore, it should be our resolution to await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, from Whom all our powers to govern His Church are derived, and Who alone has authority to call us to account."—*Prologue to judgment of eighty-seven bishops in Council of Carthage.*

So, when Pope Cornelius had received Felicissimus, who had been excommunicated in Africa, Cyprian writes to blame him severely, and says the crime ought to be judged where it is committed, and where the witnesses are, "unless to some few desperate and lost persons the authority of the bishops established in Africa seem to be inferior. Their cause is already taken cognizance of, the sentence already passed on them"; and declares a special portion of the flock is appropriated to each shepherd, which each is to rule and govern, having to give an account of his acts to God.

The history of Sardica, which was subsequent to this, was the following: When Athanasius had been condemned by the Councils of Tyre and Antioch, and banished, he first fled to Julius, who held a small assembly at Rome and acquitted him; then to Treves, and the Emperor Constans got Constantius, emperor of the East, to call a council. This was held at Sardica. Athanasius, whose cause was to be tried, sat there. The Eastern bishops claimed that he should be excluded; this the others refused. The parties were equally divided, and the Eastern prelates seceded; the Western ones remained. The Eastern half, at Philippopolis, condemned Athanasius; the Sardicans acquitted him, and then gave, for the first time, an appeal to Rome. These latter canons Zosimus sought to foist on the African bishops as canons of the Council of Nice; but they were never heard of as being those of a Council of Sardica, as of any authority, nor ever received in any way in the Eastern Church. And note the giving, then, which is what they do expressly in honor of St. Peter, a title to Rome to require a re-examination on the spot in case of an appeal, or to take other measures, proves that he did not possess the right before. It was very convenient to Athanasius, as he had been thus acquitted by Pope Julius and condemned in the East, to set up this power in Rome. This Council of Sardica and its canons were, however, no way recognized in the Church, for three general councils—Constantinople (381), thirty-four years after, Chalcedon (451), Constantinople (681)—all decree what is entirely in opposition to the Sardican, namely: that causes should be heard by the provincial synods, with appeal to the Patriarch to whose jurisdiction they belonged. It was Julius' successor, Liberius, who signed the Arian, or semi-Arian, creed, when Constantius,

the Eastern emperor, had all his own way; and so did Hosius, one of the alleged presidents of the Sardican Council.

A certain presbyter, Apiarius, had been excommunicated by his bishop and others for ill-conduct. He goes off to Rome. Zosimus pronounces him innocent, and sends Faustinus and two others to Africa, to a synod then gathered about it. His messengers were to see Apiarius reinstated, and to urge that any presbyter might appeal to Rome. The African prelates answered there was no such rule in the Church as that. Zosimus' messengers pleaded the canons of the Council of Nice. The prelates said these canons were not in their copies of the canons of the Council of Nice; but they would send to Constantinople, and Alexandria, and Antioch, the three great Patriarchates, and see. Cyril, of Alexandria, and Atticus, of Constantinople, replied, and it was found that there were no such canons of the Council of Nice at all. Zosimus was now dead, and his successor, Boniface, who pursued the claim, was dead also, and the African prelates wrote to Pope Celestine to say that the Council of Nice had committed these things to the Metropolitan, or a local council, or even to a general one. It is worth while, though it be long, to recite what the prelates say in what they call the universal African Council of Carthage:—

"No determination of the Fathers has ever taken this authority [of judging its own clergy] from the African Church, and the decrees of Nice have openly committed both inferior clergymen and bishops themselves to their Metropolitans; for they have provided, most prudently and justly, that every matter should be terminated in its own place, where it arose. Nor is it to be thought that to each and every consideration the grace of the Holy Spirit

will be wanting, by which equity may be prudently received by the priests of Christ and firmly maintained, especially because it is allowed to every one, if he be offended by the judgment on the charges, to appeal to the councils of his province, or even to a universal one. Unless, perhaps, there be some one who may think that our God may inspire justice, in examining, to a single person, whoever it may be, and deny it to innumerable priests assembled in council . . . For we have not found it established in any synod of the Fathers, that any should be sent as legates of your holiness [*tuae sanctitatis a latere*,—the common name since for popish legates]. For that which you formerly transmitted by the same Faustinus, our co-bishop, as on the part of the Nicene Council, in the truer copies of the Council of Nice, which we have received, sent from our co-bishop, Cyril, of the Church of Alexandria, and the venerable Atticus, prelate of Constantinople, from the authentic copies, which also had already been sent by us to Bishop Boniface of venerable memory, your predecessor, by the hands of Innocent, presbyter, and Marcellus, sub-deacon, by whom they were forwarded to us from them [Cyril and Atticus], —we have not been able to find any thing of the kind. Also, do not think of sending, nor granting upon any of ours requesting it, any of your clergy as executors [agents to enforce decrees], lest we may seem to introduce the smoky pride of this world into the Church of Christ, which offers the light of simplicity and the daylight of holiness to those who desire to see God."

And then the council declares that Africa could no longer endure the presence of Faustinus, if brotherly charity were to be preserved. Apiarius was already put out. Now here Papal Infallibility is treated with scorn

by all the African bishops in council; the Popes sending legates declared to be utterly unlawful, and the canons he pleaded as his justification declared to be a fraud, and that he must know it, for they had sent the true ones from Constantinople and Alexandria to his predecessor, Boniface.

But Zosimus had had some other transactions with these African prelates, among whom was the famous Augustine. Zosimus fully sanctioned the confession of faith of Pelagius, and his teaching. Now here was the very essence of Christian doctrine in question. He reproves severely the African prelates for condemning him; owned him and Celestius as in communion. His predecessor had totally condemned him just before. The African prelates having done so, and communicated it, as was the custom, to Innocent, he had returned an answer, condemning and excommunicating the two heretics, and claiming, I freely admit, all manner of authority in the case; for the Popes were at this moment striving hard to establish their power, and profited by every opportunity. However, Innocent condemned and excommunicated them by his full authority, *ex cathedra*. Zosimus, to the said African prelates, declares them sound and in communion. And note, this was on an essential doctrine of the faith. The Africans did not, of course, remonstrate with Innocent for agreeing with them; but Zosimus' pretensions set aside their judgment. They met at Carthage in May, 418, Augustine presiding, and condemned and anathematized Pelagius and his disciples; and not content with this, took the opportunity, in the Council of Melevis, of republishing the Nicene canon, and, in their twenty-second, decree that the appeals should be to local synods or Metropolitans; and that if any appealed across the sea

(*i. e.*, to Rome), he should be received into communion in no African church. Zosimus gave way; summoned Celestius, whom the Africans condemned, and condemned him too. So much for the Pope's infallibility and authority.

It was just at this time that the Pope was seeking to establish his authority over the West; and succeeded, through a quarrel of two prelates, to do it in the south-east corner of France, and in a measure, in Eastern Illyria, naming the Archbishop of Thessalonica there as "executor,"—what the Africans call the introduction of smoky pride into the Church. This had been done already some forty years before, when that country was politically transferred to the Eastern Empire, and the ambitious Popes were afraid it should be ecclesiastically under the influence of Constantinople, the Eastern capital. But all this was ambition, not infallibility; and when there was moral courage, the pretensions of the Pope were entirely rejected as wholly contrary to the canons, as, indeed, they were, before the canons of Nice were made. Thus did Cyprian; thus Asia Minor, Egypt, and Syria, in his day; thus Spain, thus Irenæus in Gaul; while the Popes have been openly proved both fallible and heretics. In the Councils of Basle and Constance these bodies were openly declared superior to them, and in the last, three Popes (all infallible, we are to suppose) were set aside,—one as a heinous monster.

The Popes themselves have been divided as to infallibility. Leo IX was for, and Gregory XIII against, infallibility; Innocent III was for, and Vigilius against, transubstantiation; Pius V declared the breviary correct, and Urbanus VIII declared the breviary of Pius V full of errors; Clement XIV suppressed the Jesuits, as fatal to the Church and society; Pius VII re-established the

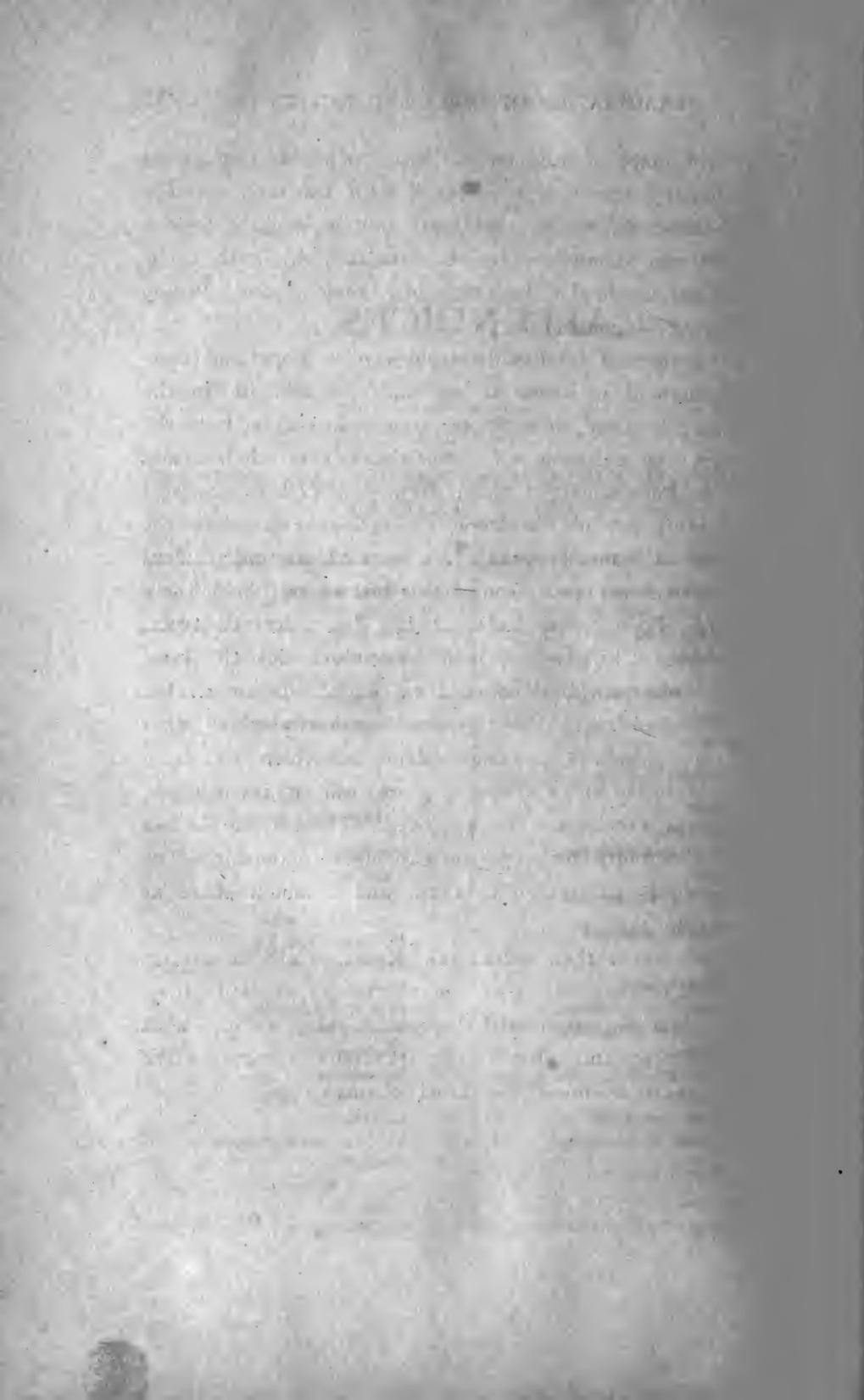
Jesuits, as useful to the Church and society.¹ The Gallican Church (*i. e.*, the Roman prelates in France, summoned by Louis XIV) declared, publicly, that the decrees of the Council of Constance, which maintained the authority of general councils as superior to the Popes in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican Church, and that the decisions of the Pope in points of faith are not infallible, unless they are accompanied by the consent of the Church. And in promulgating this dogma, the Vatican Council did not, by any means, have the consent of the whole Church. Pope Pius IX was visited by a number of prelatic deputations and requested to modify the dogma; but being strengthened in his purpose by Jesuitical advisers, he remained steadfast to the end. Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, besought the Pope, on his knees, to modify the dogma of infallibility. Bishop Strossmayer, of Bosnia, boldly and fearlessly denounced infallibility in open council, amid the greatest opposition and threatening attitude of its members. And even Dr. John

¹ The Jesuits have patronized every superstition that has been introduced into the Church for three centuries, and the Jesuits, Bresciani, Pellico, and all (except Father Curci) of any prominence, especially the Spanish Jesuits, have been firm supporters of Papal Infallibility. France has learned a practical lesson of allowing Jesuits to be educators of their youth, and has just banished them from the nation and closed their schools after a few days' grace. They were found to be sowing in the youth of the land the seeds of rebellion, of opposition to the law, and of disobedience to the French Republic. It is said by some that they had a hand in the recent conspiracy and assassination of the monarchs of Europe. We know this was the case in former times. The Jesuit, Malagrida, gave the order to kill John VI of Portugal; the two Jesuits, Garnet and Personio, had charge of the Gunpowder plot; and the Jesuit, Gardiner, was the assassin of Henry IV. Malagrida, Garnet, and Gardiner were hung by the civil law.

Henry Newman, of England, looked upon the passage of infallibility by the Vatican Council with fear and dismay; but all these efforts of the best and most learned men in the Roman Church were counteracted by such ecclesiastics as Cardinal Manning, of London, and Bishop Senestry, of Regensburg.

Now, if normal infallibility resides in a Pope and œcumical council, it is not to be found at all; for in the early councils they contradicted one another, and in the later ones, the existence of Popes depends on their action without a Pope amongst them. One will tell us the seat of infallibility is in the Pope, *ex cathedra*; another, the Pope with a council; another, a council as independent of and above a Pope. And if this last be not held, there is no true Pope to be had. It has been decreed twice, by assembled Christendom, held by universities the most famous in the world, denounced, no doubt, at Rome; but when we look up their greatest authority about that council, on which their cause depends, which was confirmed absolutely by a Pope, we are told it is uncertain — cannot be condemned or approved. There is no known seat of infallibility for a person capable of inquiring. The whole thing is as foreign to truth and common sense as it is possible to be.

We have seen, then, what the Roman Catholic system has produced, as its own best authors record it,—individual authors teem with reproaches and scorn,—what its Popes were, and what refuge its councils were to the inquiring, restless mind and heart of man.



APPENDICES.

I. LIST OF CHURCH FATHERS AND CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

1. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS—95-180.

Clement of Rome.
Ignatius of Antioch.
Polycarp of Smyrna.
Barnabas.

WRITERS.

Hermas.
Papias.

2. THE GREEK FATHERS—180-325.

Irenæus.
Hippolytus.
Clement of Alexandria.
Origen.
Gregory Thaumaturgus.

GREEK WRITERS.

Caius.
Julius Africanus.
Alexander of Jerusalem.
Dionysius of Alexandria.
Archelaus.
Alexander of Lycopolis.
Methodius.
Peter of Alexandria.
Alexander of Alexandria.

3. THE LATIN FATHERS—180-325.

Tertullian.
Cyprian.

LATIN WRITERS.

Minucius Felix.
Novatian.
Arnobius.
Lactantius.
Commodianus.
Victorinus.
Dionysius of Rome.

4. THE POST-NICENE GREEK FATHERS—325-750.

Eusebius.
Athanasius.
Arius.
Cyril of Jerusalem.
Ephraem Syrus.
Marcellus.
Basil.
Gregory Nazianzen.
Gregory Nyssa.
Didymus.
Epiphanius.
Diodorus of Tarsus.
Chrysostom.
Theodore of Mepsuestia.
Theophilus.
Cyril of Alexandria.
Nestorius.
Theodoret.

4. THE POST-NICENE LATIN FATHERS — 325-590.

Hilary.
Ambrose.
Jerome.
Rufinus.
Augustine.
Pelagius.
Celestius.
Julianus.
Marius Mercator.
John Cassian.
Vincent of Lerius.
Prosper of Aquitaine.
Salvian.
Hilary of Arles.
Leo the Great.
Faustus.
Cæsar of Arles.
Fulgentius.
Boëthius.
Dionysius Exiguus.
Cassiodorus.

The Protestant Church accepts, for general reference, the following:—

I. Greek Fathers — 2d-6th Century.

Irenæus.
Clement of Alexandria.
Origen.
Athanasius.

Cyril of Alexandria.
Basil the Great.
Gregory of Nazienzen.
Eusebius of Cæsarea.
Chrysostom.
Theodore.

2. Latin Fathers.

Justin Martyr.
Tertullian.
Lactantius.
Cyprian.
Hilary of Poitiers.
Ambrose.
Augustine.
Jerome.
Gregory the Great.

The Roman Catholic Church excludes from the Protestant list —

Tertullian.
Origen.
Eusebius.

And adds, extending to the Twelfth century —

John of Damasus.
Peter Damian.
Anselm.
Bernard.
Thomas Aquinas.
Bonaventura.

II. LIST OF ROMAN PONTIFFS.

[The figures in the first column indicate Roman Notizie; in the second, Gerarchia Cattolica.]

	R. N.	G. C.	R. N.	G. C.
St. Peter	42		Hyginus	139
Linus	66	67	Pius I	142
Cletus		78	Anicetus	157
Clement I (Clemens Ro- mans)	91	90	Soterus	168
Anacletus		100	Eleutherius	177
Evaristus	100	112	Victor I	182
Alexander I	108	121	Zepherinus	202
Sixtus I	119	132	Calixtus	203
Telesphorus	127	142	Urban I	217
			Pontianus	223
				227
				230
				233

	R. N.	G. C.		R. N.	G. C.
Anterus	235	238	Boniface IV	608	
Fabian	236	240	Adeodatus I	615	
Cornelius	250	254	Boniface V	619	
Lucius (Novatianus)	252	255	Honorius I	625	
Stephen I	258	257	See vacant one year and seven months.		
Sixtus II	257	260	Severinus	640	
Dionysius	259	261	John IV	640	
Felix I	269	272	Theodosius I	642	
Eutychianus		275	Martin I	645	
Caius		283	Eugenius I	654	657
Marcellinus		296	Vitalianus		659
Marcellus I	309	304	Adeodatus II		672
Eusebius	310	309	Donus, or Domnus I		676
Melchiades		311	Agathon		678
Sylvester		314	Leo II		682
Marcus		336	Benedict II		684
Julius I	337	341	John V		685
Liberius		352	Conon		686
Felix II	355	363	Sergius I		687
Damasus		366	John VI		701
Siricius		384	John VII		705
Anastasius	398	399	Sisinnius		708
Innocent I		402	Constantine		708
Zosimus		417	Gregory II		715
Boniface I (Eulalius)		418	Gregory III		731
Celestine I	422	423	Zachary		741
Sixtus III		432	Stephen II (died before consecration.)		752
Leo I (the Great)		440	Stephen III		752
Hilary		461	Paul I		757
Simplicius		468	Stephen IV		768
Felix III		483	Adrian I	772	771
Gelasius I		492	Leo III		795
Anastasius II		496	Stephen V		816
Symmachus		498	Pascal I		817
Hormisdas		514	Eugenius II		824
John I		523	Valentinus		827
Felix IV		526	Gregory IV		827
Boniface II		530	Sergius II		844
John II	533	532	Leo IV		847
Agapetus I		535	Benedict III (Anastasius). .		855
Sylverius		536	Nicholas I (the Great). .		858
Vigilius		537	Adrian II		867
Pelagius I		555	John VIII		872
John III		560	Marinus I, or Martin II .		882
Benedict I (Bonosus)		574	Adrian III		884
Pelagius II		578	Stephen VI		885
Gregory I (the Great)		590	Formosus		891
Sabinianus		604			
Boniface III		607			

G. C.	R. N.	G. C.
Boniface VI (reigned only eighteen days, not included among the Popes by Baronius).		
Stephen VII	896	Victor II
Romanus	896	Stephen X.
Theodorus II	897	Benedict X
John IX	898	Nicholas II
Benedict IV	898	Alexander II
Leo V	900	Gregory VII
Christopher	903	Victor III
Sergius III	904	Urban II
Anastasius III	911	Pascal II
Lando	913	Gelasius II
John X	914	Calixtus II
Leo VI	928	Honorius II
Stephen VIII	929	Innocent II, Anacletus II, and Victor IV
John XI	931	Celestine II
Leo VII	936	Lucius II
Stephen IX	939	Eugenius III
Marinus II, or Martin III.	943	Anastasius IV
Agapetus II	946	Adrian IV
John XII	956	Alexander III, Victor V, Pascal III, and Ca- lixtus III
Benedict V	964	Lucius III
John XIII.	965	Urban III
Benedict VI	972	Gregory VIII
Donus, or Domnus II. .	974	Clement III
Benedict VII	975	Celestine III
John XIV	983	Innocent III
Boniface VII	984	Honorius III
John XV	985	Gregory IX
John XVI	996	Celestine IV
Gregory V	996	See vacant one year and seven months.
John XVII	999	Innocent IV
Sylvester II	999	Alexander IV
John XVIII	1003	Urban IV
John XIX	1003	Clement IV
Sergius IV	1009	See vacant two years and nine months.
Benedict VIII	1012	Gregory X
John XX	1024	Innocent V
Benedict IX	1033	Adrian V
Gregory VI	1044	John XXI
(Abdicated 1046. Syl- vester III, 1045).		Nicholas III
Clement II	1046	Martin IV
Damasus II	1048	Honorius IV
(Benedict IX attempts to resume the throne.)		Nicholas IV
Leo IX	1049	See vacant two years and three months.

	G. C.		G. C.
Celestine V	1294	Paul III	1534
Boniface VIII	1294	Julius III	1550
Benedict XI	1303	Marcellus II	1555
Clement V	1305	Paul IV	1555
Seat of the papacy removed to Avignon. See vacant two years and three months.		Pius IV	1559
John XXII	1316	Pius V	1566
Benedict XII (Nicholas V at Rome)	1334	Gregory XIII	1572
Clement VI	1342	Sixtus V	1585
Innocent VI	1352	Urban VII	1590
Urban V	1362	Gregory XIV	1590
Gregory XI (throne restored to Rome)	1370	Innocent IX	1591
Urban VI	1378	Clement VIII	1592
Boniface IX (Benedict XIII at Avignon)	1389	Leo XI	1605
Innocent VII	1404	Paul V	1605
Gregory XII	1406	Gregory XV	1621
Alexander V	1409	Urban VIII	1623
John XXIII	1410	Innocent X	1644
Martin V	1417	Alexander VII	1655
Eugenius IV (Felix V)	1431	Clement IX	1667
Nicholas V	1447	Clement X	1670
Calixtus III	1455	Innocent XI	1676
Pius II	1458	Alexander VIII	1689
Paul II	1464	Innocent XII	1691
Sixtus IV	1471	Clement XI	1700
Innocent VIII	1484	Innocent XIII	1721
Alexander VI	1492	Benedict XIII	1724
Pius III	1503	Clement XII	1730
Julius II	1503	Benedict XIV	1740
Leo X	1513	Clement XIII	1758
Adrian VI	1522	Clement XIV	1769
Clement VII	1523	Pius VI	1775
		Pius VII	1800
		Leo XII	1823
		Pius VIII	1829
		Gregory XVI	1831
		Pius IX	1846
		Leo XIII	1877

III. LIST OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

1. Council at Nice	325
2. Council at Constantinople	381
3. Council at Ephesus	431
4. Council at Chalcedon	451
5. Second Council at Constantinople	553
6. Third Council at Constantinople	680

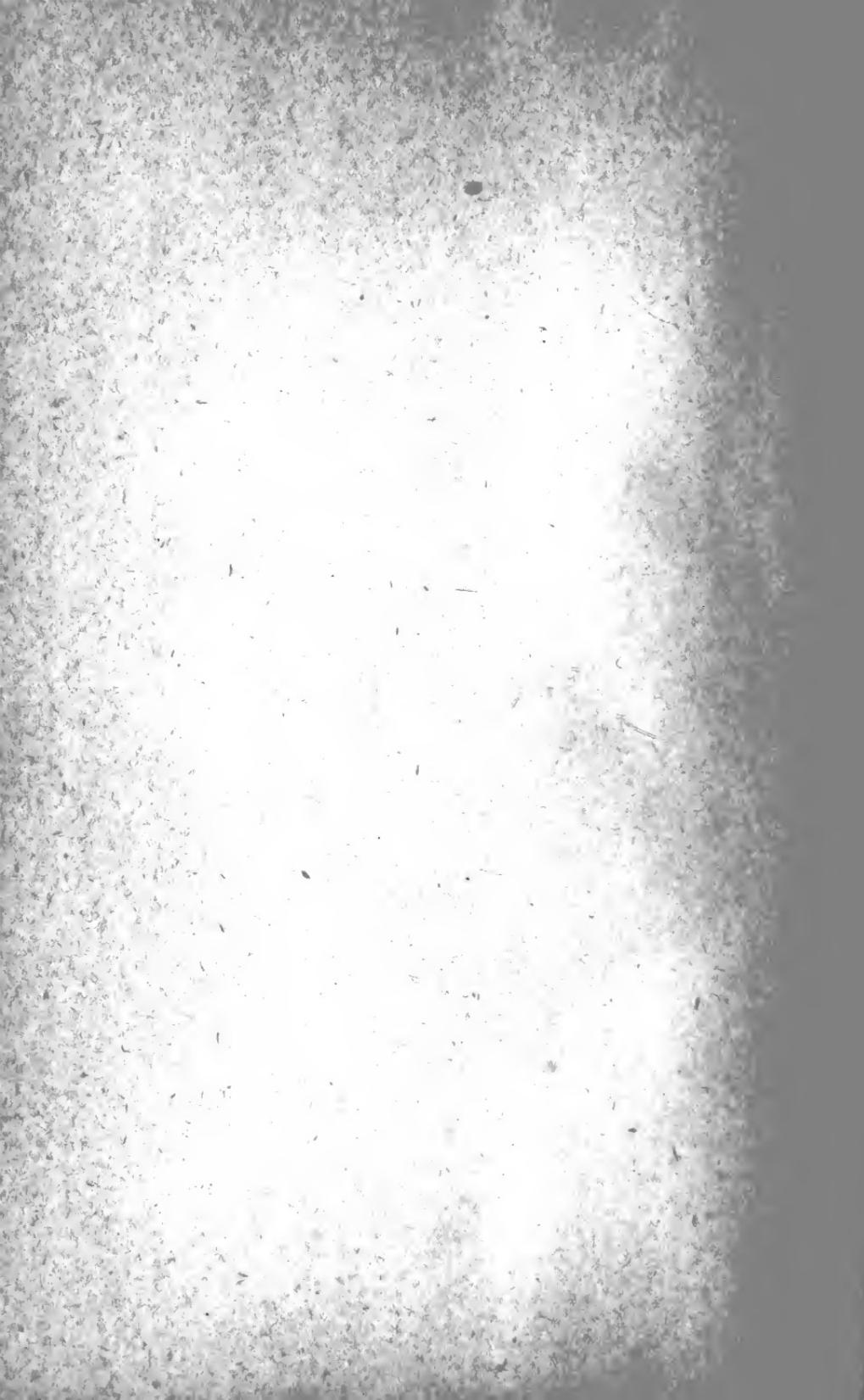
7. Second Council at Nice	787
8. Fourth Council at Constantinople	869
9. First Lateran Council	1123
10. Second Lateran Council	1139
11. Third Lateran Council	1179
12. Fourth Lateran Council	1215
13. First Council at Lyons	1245
14. Second Council at Lyons	1274
15. Council at Vienne	1311
16. Council at Constance	1414
17. Council of Basle (till dissolution by the Pope)	1431
18. Fifth Lateran Council	1512-1517
19. Council of Trent	1545
20. The Vatican Council	1869

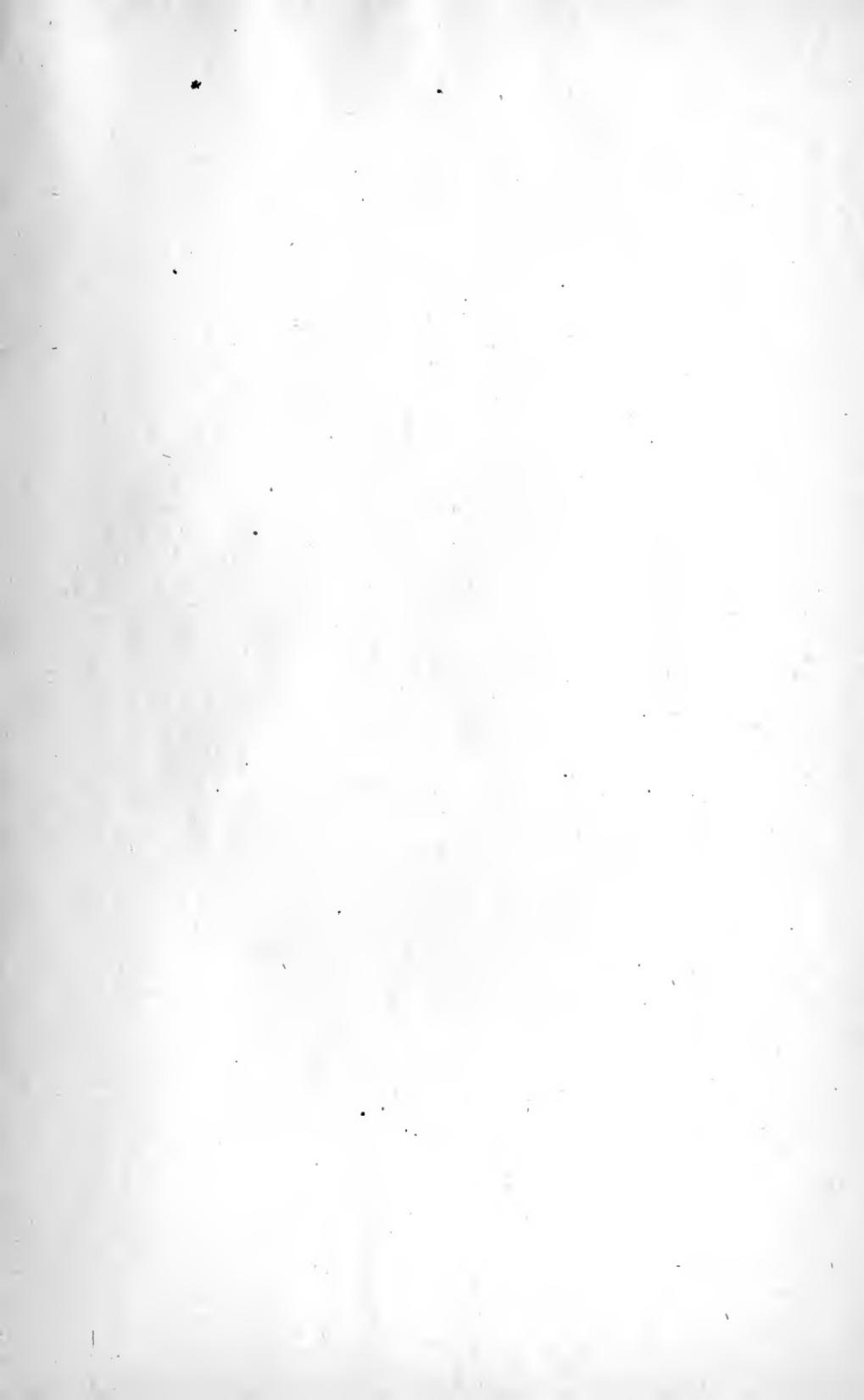
The Councils of Pisa (1409) and Florence (1439) are sometimes called General Councils.

The Greek Church receives only the first seven councils, besides that of Jerusalem.

The Protestant Church receives only the six which directly follow the last named as General Councils, admitting the full authority of none of them.







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